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PRINCIPLES AND OBSERVATIONS
ON
MANY AND VARIOUS SUBJECTS,
FOR THE
HEALTH OF NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS.

1. CEMETERIES, WILLS, POTATOES—2. RAILWAYS, SPECULATIONS, MINING GIRLS, SUGAR, SLAVES, EAST AND WEST INDIES, CORN-LAWS, AND THE REGULATION OF TIME OF LABOUR—3. CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND ENDOWMENTS, FREE CHURCH, ENGLISH AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES—4. IRELAND, AND MEASURES FOR ITS AMELIORATION, SPAIN, ALGIERS, FRANCE, FRANCE AND REVOLUTION, AND GREAT BRITAIN AND REPUBLICS, GREECE, TURKEY, RUSSIA, POLAND, AUSTRIA, VENICE, HUNGARY, WITH REGARD TO THEIR RESOURCES, AND FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE, AND THE BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE, PRINCIPLES OF THE GAME-LAWS, PLEDGING OF VOTES, BANKS, BULLION AND BANKING, COPYRIGHT, LAW OF ENTAIL, TEA AND THE TEA TRADE.

FOUR PARTS IN ONE VOLUME,
HAVING A CLOSE CONNECTION WITH ONE ANOTHER, BUT MAY BE HAD SEPARATELY,
AND EACH IS QUITE A DISTINCT SUBJECT OF ITSELF.

BY
JOHN MOODIE, M.D., AND SURGEON.

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PREFATORY NOTICES.

THE principal object we had in view in writing these papers, was to allay and repress the Chartist and revolutionary tendency of the great body of the people at the present day, and also the strong inclination of the upper ranks, members of the Legislature, and the time-serving portion of the community, to answer their own ends, and for their own aggrandisement, and to gain the applause of the multitude, giving way to the desires of these, however injurious, expecting that, by some fortunate means or other, they will be able to counteract the evil effects that are likely to result from having yielded to their everlasting, and insatiable, and never satisfied cravings of always wishing to have, and to be relieved from all trouble and burdens, however hurtful and injurious the tendency of these desires may be for their own, and for the general future good of the nation; but we have laid down in as clear, and in as undeniable a view and principle as it is possible, the true rights of all in matters which are for the benefit of the nation at large; and we have also laid down what is for the amelioration and permanent benefit of the working class, and what is best to prevent disturbances, but yet consistent with private and general right. We will state more particularly, but yet not minutely, and give an idea of the subjects we have written on, merely to attract others to suggest and improve, and prevent the evils of such things.

POTATOES.—Uses and advantages to the working-classes, and to the nation, Part I. and the great loss to the nation from their loss or failure by any means, both in point of health and expense. The cause of their disease, and the many and various ways for improving them.

CEMETERIES.—As places for the burial of the dead, and the injurious effects of overcrowded burying-grounds, and the advantages of having new cemeteries to prevent such evils, and the benefit they will be to the public generally as lungs for health, and fresh air to towns, and the public for recreation, and as cheap substitutes for public parks; and how cheaply and inexpensively they will be got up and constructed, and the many evils they will prevent.

WILLS OR TESTAMENTS.—The benefits and great necessity of having such made in time, and the evils of not making wills, and the best and fairest way of distributing what we have; and copies of wills to suit those of different amounts of fortune, and especially with regard to the bequeathing of money to girls.

RAILROADS AND RAILROAD SPECULATIONS.—The chance of gain by these, and Part II. Sunday travelling, which we generally disapprove of; but to prevent greater evils, and from its being necessary, and a right which will be conceded at some future period, and very likely by that time, when its want has been long apparent, it will be granted as a right which has been withheld, and which ought to have been granted sooner; and such being the case, to make amends, it will be hastily conceded without restrictions. This is the usual way in which such things are done. We consider it better at once to allow it on certain conditions, so as to prevent at once to a great extent the desecration of the Sabbath; and it will be received on such conditions now as a favour, but afterwards it will only be accepted without conditions, as a long-neglected right. Also many remarks on railways, and their uses generally.

Formation of companies, speculations, and improvements of different kinds in towns, and especially those which are most common at the present day—the harm and injury of these from being mistimed and mismanaged. We may remark here, that the stability of companies may be generally known from the following inquiries, such as the character and wealth of those who start and

originate them. We may see if their object is gain; or is it for the general good? Are they acquainted with what they are about? Are the directors respectable? Are they men of character in the town or neighbourhood? Are they strangers? Are they monied men? All these and more questions may be asked, discussed, and inquired into. We may guess their object. If poor, in such a case they will buy a great many more shares than their incomes will allow of their buying the number of shares they have. In the same way the directors, if swindlers, if we may so term it, will get a number of their townsmen, or acquaintances, or swindlers elsewhere, like themselves, to buy more shares than their incomes will afford to sell over again, and to gull the public, and to make them believe, from the number of shares sold, that it is a profitable speculation. Persons may have an idea from some of these trifling and simple evidences, and from a knowledge of the state of such like speculations elsewhere, whether they ought to have to do with them or not.

COAL MINES AND FEMALES.—We have striven to shew that the not permitting of females to work in mines was not necessary from humane motives, but it was not injurious to the girls working in them alone, but to other girls, as well as all concerned. Laws which regulate labour without being able at the same time to regulate wages, are not required; but they are likely to be attended with injurious effects to the workmen themselves, to the manufacturers, and to the whole nation at a future period, and at the first busy season in trade. Corn-laws, and the benefit of lowering the duty, and repealing them sooner, and the future benefit of it to the working-classes; and remarks with regard to measures, and the influence of the multitude in carrying them out. Sugar, slaves, East and West Indies, and the regulation of the time of labour, and its after effects on the nation and workmen.

Part III.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—An account of it, and the right it unalterably has to its present revenues, and the superiority of an endowed Church over an undowered Church, and the benefit of the Church of Scotland to the State and people during the past; and an account of the Free Church, and its being a good and necessary substitute for the extension of the Church of Scotland, which neither the State nor the people seemed likely to extend, but which the Church of Scotland herself considered necessary. An account of the Roman Catholics and endowments, and the rights of Roman Catholics, and means of liberalising and repressing the bigotry of these, and improving the Roman Catholic clergy, and Maynooth, and grants to Roman Catholics. Our object in writing this article was not to write a history of the Church, but from the great benefit arising from a Church and religion to a people and to a State, by the people being religious and educated, we wish to bring the subject before the public, and to impress them with the benefits of the, and a Church and religious instruction being on a sure and permanent basis, without the risk of ever losing it even for a short time.

VARIOUS RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS—DEVIL AND SIN.—This may seem a rather out of the way kind of writing, but no one without a true and clear view and knowledge of the real power of God, and who the devil is, and what he is, and what is his real power, can understand and believe in the Scriptures, and the doctrines of Christianity. It is the fundamental doctrine of Christianity; but as there is, we should say generally, rather an erroneous notion, or opinion, with regard to the attributes and real power of the devil, which strikes at the very foundation of the Creator's power and of the Scriptures, as the power of the devil is explained by a great number by whom God's power is rendered less than it really is; but we have little hesitation in saying that this explains simply and clearly to any the real power and influence of the devil; and it also shews the existence of a God, and his right to do with us as he pleases, where we may think he is unjust, and without mercy, &c.; and some other religious topics.

Part IV.

IRELAND.—The general, particular, and moral means for its improvement; and remarks with regard to the general health of the nation, and the simplest, best, and least expensive means of preserving it; and remarks on the condition and improvement of other nations of Europe, with a view to the general and most effectual means of preserving their stability, and the peace of each and of Europe. Great Britain, revolutions, and the last French one, and Republics, and benefits or evils of these, and their permanency, &c. Encroachments and right of the public to paths, &c. Game-laws, benefits, &c. of these.

Judges; too great economy with regard to the number of Scotch judges, and the evil consequences of it. Pledging of votes when such are binding, and when otherwise. Banks, bullion, and the Bank of England. Law of copy-right—the right of the public to the works of an author at any time, and under any conditions. Entail, benefits of these, and prevention of their evil effects. Tea-duties, a reduction of these, and advantages to be gained by it.

NOTE.—[There is also a Medical Treatise (a separate part) by the same Author. Apparatus to preserve the chastity of females and males (with four plates), and by this means to prevent other evils, and to preserve their general health, and also for falling down of the womb; and shewing and preventing the evils of swelling out the face and cheeks by stuffing them, and thus destroying the beauty, and causing disease of the face: sea-bathing; also the evils of tight-lacing. It is a paper which is of use to preserve the general health of all, and is a series of papers in one, on the most important subjects that are useful for preserving health.]

This is a series of parts or subjects, having a close connection with each other as a whole, yet each part is of itself quite distinct. The whole were seen as they are at present at Messrs Chambers, about July 1847, except that part from France, revolution, &c. down to future prospects in the governing of Great Britain, which was finished as it is about the end of March 1848, and was seen at that time. But most of the parts were in manuscript, except with a few trifling additions, before the end of 1846. Some might say it is a long time since they were finished (we see books, and new additions of books, printed after they are dozens of years old, and that on politics); but most of the subjects have not yet been before the public, and others are not yet decided as to the right and wrong, and are still discussed; but it only shews if the opinions are correct or not—that they were not picked out of newspapers and magazines, and getting a bit here and there and everywhere; because at the time they were written and seen, the subjects, except potatoes, we might say, had not been before the public, and the opinions regarding potatoes were not the opinions that we have given; and any of the other subjects that have come before the public, the opinions are not those that we have given. The medical treatise, containing the apparatus to protect males and females, was written about May 1846. At first it was not our intention to print any of the papers; but after a time, we took a hint and were preparing to print them, but gave up the idea of doing it: when, on June 1848, from the opinions that we had seen in the newspapers and magazines, we resolved to print the whole as they are. The principles laid down in these different articles are applicable to a great variety of other cases than those to which they are at present applied, as may be seen in the application to the human race, and to animals, and to other grains—the principles which have been laid down with regard to potatoes. (But there are many who misapply principles, and use them in cases which resemble, but which are dissimilar to those where they may have seen them successfully applied.) The principles laid down are applicable to other nations, as well as Great Britain, under certain modifications of time, place, and circumstances. In conclusion, we may state, that we have written on these various subjects more with a view to attract the attention of others to their great importance, and so as to elicit what information they can give to prevent the evils of them. (The nature of the subjects may make it tedious to read and understand much of them at a time.)

Erroneous opinions, and opinions of long standing, which have been long believed to be correct, and this from many facts favouring such opinions, but from a circumstance or facts entirely opposite, they have been easily disproved, as such have plainly shewn the falsity of the facts which have appeared to be favourable to these long-standing opinions; and it has only been by laying these new, and true, and simple facts before the public, that the evils and falsity of the old opinions have been disproved; and if these new proofs (perhaps first seen by chance) had not been revealed, the old errors and great evils arising from them might have continued.

It is only by laying before the public information and opinions that improvements on these are elicited; and that what is bad and erroneous is suppressed, and discovered, and improved, and the good and benefits known, used, and improved. Yet though we may differ from some in a few, or in many, or in all points, yet it is only by perusing books and opinions that are contrary to, as

well as those which are favourable to your own opinions, that you can really be certain on all and on every occasion, that your own opinion is well-founded, and that you can confidently lay it before the public, or be privately satisfied that your own views on the or a subject are correct. (To come at the truth, we must read both sides and every side of a question—that which is favourable as well as unfavourable to our own opinions.)

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CEMETERIES.

THERE is a subject at present before the public, that is, the Bill of Cemeteries. Health of Lord Morpeth, and which has excited a good deal of the public attention lately. In connection with this subject, there is one which has a close bearing on it in many respects, both as regards disease and health, and is of some importance in both cases,—we allude to churchyards, or, as they are now styled when new, Cemeteries.

The old churchyards, which are most frequently or often situated within a town, have been considered to be highly deleterious and dangerous to the health of the inhabitants, from the unhealthy emanations which are apt to arise from the putrefaction and decay of the dead bodies, and that more especially where they are overcrowded; and such is likely to occur, to a greater degree, from an extraordinary number of deaths from fever and plague, &c. A Source of Disease.

The churches within which bodies have been or are buried, or which are situated within such churchyards, when overcrowded, have been considered to be unhealthy from the same cause; now, if such be the case, of which there is little doubt, it would be a good and substantial reason to have new burying-places in the outskirts or suburbs of the different towns, on account of the old grounds being unhealthy.

But there is another reason, and of itself sufficient, and which no one will object to, and that is one of necessity; and that necessity is, that in most towns, and in all towns where the population is increasing, the grounds of the old churchyards are all occupied by the older inhabitants, as well as the graves being too near one another and overcrowded; which last also means, that many families have too little burying-space for their own families, and cannot get more adjoining their own, and in many cases they cannot get it in the same churchyard. There is also insufficient room for the increased, increasing, and new population; as a burying-place sufficiently large for the inhabitants of a town a century ago or less, is not so now. But even these old damp burying-grounds might be drained, and walks made through them, and so improved and ornamented, that they might answer as places for recreation, enjoyment, and health to the inhabitants of the town. Necessity for an increase of Cemeteries.

Having said so much of the old burying-places, we will say some-

thing with regard to the new, or cemeteries, as they are now named ; more with the view of their being places of moral amusement, recreation, health, and enjoyment, than from a desire to have them, from the old churchyards being unhealthy.

A Substitute for Parks and Places of Health. New cemeteries are the cheapest and most economical parks which any town and its inhabitants can have.

As there seems to be great difficulty to get money for the purpose of forming and purchasing grounds for parks, even for large and populous towns ; and where they have been got up, the subscriptions for such have not been raised solely in the towns themselves, but also from other places and persons, either from want of money or from the want of the will to give it, or from the wealthy not seeing the necessity, or not caring for the health of the inhabitants, and especially of the lower or working-classes ; it therefore cannot be expected that small and overcrowded towns will be able to get up such parks as are suited to the size of their towns.

Means and Likelihood of getting them up. During the last half century, most towns which had waste lands, greens, commons, or parks (more common in England than in Scotland), belonging to their corporations, and to which all the inhabitants had access, have been sold or cultivated, for the purpose of making domestic improvements in the towns, such as cleaning and lighting them better ; and, in other cases, the parks belonging to them have been alienated or sold to pay the debts of the corporation and town.*

It is with the view of supplying the want of parks that we would recommend Cemeteries to be got up, as they may be done at almost no expense, and yet have the advantage of being made places of public resort and recreation, for fresh air and health to all the inhabitants, and more especially the working-classes, and such as may be closely confined to sedentary and unhealthy occupations. There are many who would subscribe to them from interested and pecuniary motives ; as they might make something by the profits

* The King's Park of Edinburgh, as an example, where, from some unknown reason or other, or from some person or persons too officiously zealous about the delicacy of Her Most Gracious Majesty's senses or visual organs, have by some means or other deprived large numbers of the poor of the means of getting their clothes cleaned and dried, and thus encouraging uncleanness, filth, and disease ; the clothes, being washed, although perhaps riddled, or a little the worse of the wear in some cases, could not offend the eyes of many, and we are sure at least those of Her Majesty, who was so rarely to see them ; but it is likely that a sight of them on the persons of her most loyal and humble subjects in a state of filth and uncleanness would have a more disgusting and bad effect on Her Majesty ; and the recollection of meeting them thus so frequently, would prevent her coming to Holyrood so frequently. We think, if Her Majesty had felt the drying the linen so disagreeable, but we do not suppose such to be the case, and do not even believe she knew either that such was done or that such had been prohibited, but supposing it was all true, the drying might be given up during her stay there ; but so far as any of the squeamishly delicate inhabitants are concerned, we think, when so much is said about Health Bills, that the privilege ought to be restored, as it is very difficult, and even attended with expense, for them to get it done elsewhere ; I should almost *fancy* they had a legal right, as it has been done from time immemorial. When a person gets on clean linen, it creates a species of self-approbation, which has the moral effect of elevating his self-respect, and makes him shave and wash himself, which in most cases he would not do if his linen were foul ; and the moral effect of the whole is to create a self-respect so to keep them from evil, as well as make them ashamed of being seen with their dirty, and, most likely, dissipated, companions, and at the same time creating in others a desire to appear in the same state of cleanliness.

arising from shares in such. Others, again, from wishing places to bury their families. Others, from their having workmen, and expecting more work being done by them in a given space of time, and for the same wages, by having their workmen cheerful and in good health. Others, from a benevolent and charitable spirit, in order to promote the welfare of their fellow-citizens, as well as their health and happiness. Others from its being connected with the well-being and prosperity of the kingdom, and from motives of public health; and about which last all are crying out, and striving to effect and to promote,—whether with more than empty words, their actions or the public health will shew.

Of the first class, the speculators, there are many, but such are not to be depended on alone; but if residing in the towns themselves, and combining speculation with the necessity of having places of interment for their families, they will be found to be not a few. The second class, those who from necessity alone require it, will be found to be more numerous than the former; and they also may be stimulated by the chances of profit. I should consider them a large proportion. The third class, the masters, are not so numerous; but, if willing, may be depended on to give great assistance both by purse and example. The fourth class, the benevolent, are generally, we are sorry to say, not in great proportions, either in this or any thing else; but such numbers as there are, which is not many in each single town, they, by their example and benevolent efforts to this as well as to any other good work, keep up, excite, and assist the good intentions and efforts of others. The last class, those who cry out about Health Bills and Medical Police Regulations, give no more than their voices, which no doubt is of some use; but they are not numerous in the way of assistance with their purses when each town is taken separately.

We would highly recommend this subject to the attention of all, as supplying a very important deficiency,—that of public parks,—for the welfare and health of the inhabitants of towns. To all ranks and ages, from the infant carried by the nurse to the old man who may be tottering into his grave, they are constant sources of health, and are lungs, ventilators, and suppliers of fresh air to towns. Cemeteries should not have too many bodies, that is, to have the rooms allotted to graves too small; and each family ought to have at least two rooms or breadths instead of only having one, which is commoner than the former in old burying-places, but which is very inconvenient, and apt to afflict the feelings of the relations and those around, if two persons belonging to the same family were to be buried in the same grave within a short time of each other, by the coffin of the first being broken, and the body exposed, more or less, as well as the unhealthiness which is apt to arise from the putrid remains being exposed to the air and to those around.

Cemeteries ought to be placed, if the grounds in the neighbourhood will allow of it, in an elevated and commanding situation, with a good prospect and cheerful view in some direction, as a good view adds to the pleasure, and enlivens and strengthens the senses, and by so doing, the health of the body, as well as of the mind, when combined with recreation. It may also be a means of making many take exercise who would not if they had no pleasure for the

Best situation
for Ceme-
teries.

senses combined with it; or others who cannot appreciate the benefit of exercise, but who take it when it is to be got by the gratification of the senses, and thus get health without seeking for it, or knowing they are getting it.

Laying out of
the grounds.

The grounds ought to be tastefully laid out with trees, shrubs, flowers, walks, seats, &c., as well as to have vacant and unoccupied spots without graves, so as to allow any to recline or rest on them, and not confine them to bare walks. Some who take an interest in the health of their fellow-citizens, and, by the same means, the welfare of the kingdom, and, I believe, there are many who might, in combination, if not individually, subscribe for vacant spaces, and even have sepulchral places for their own families, as they might require such. The vacant spaces might be named by such benevolent persons, or after their own name. Free access should be given to all. These Cemeteries will answer all the purposes of parks, excepting for gymnastic exercises, but for this purpose there might be grounds of small extent close by the Cemeteries; they would not require to be large, on account of having the Cemeteries for walking in. If such were to be got up, they would require to be entirely separated, and even at some distance from the Cemetery, as, if in close contact, the noise of such amusements would take away from the sanctity of the place. They might be near enough, and yet have no appearance of being in the same near neighbourhood. This might be done by having a thick strip of plantation beside the gymnastic ground, on the side next to the Cemetery, with two or three fields, or more, between them, and to have a communication between the two, a walk, with trees, shrubs, &c. on each side. A piece of ground for this purpose might be got, if it were thought to be desirable, after the Cemetery was finished. It would be requisite, in order to take advantage of this, to get the Cemetery where such a piece of ground might be easily and cheaply obtained. If it should be thought requisite, it would be a nice and pleasing variety to those who might only be taking walking exercise, the looking on and seeing others amusing themselves. If public baths were to be erected, they might be made at or near the same place; but this would not be so convenient in large towns, as a central position would be found more convenient; but if they were placed beside the other places of amusement, there would be many who might be inclined to take a bath after their walk who would not otherwise do it, and those who take baths would be doubly invigorated by having a refreshing walk both before and after it. Again, those who were taking gymnastic exercises would no doubt feel much inclined to cleanse and refresh themselves by a bath after such amusements, which they might not otherwise be. By having so many different and essential stores of health in one place, you have all the necessary means for renewing and preserving health always at one and the same time, and Cemeteries will thus be places for invigorating the body as well as the senses, without which last being in a healthy condition, the body is so difficult to strengthen, or to be kept in a healthy state.

As sources of
health.

They will be places for laying up stores of health, and make those who frequent them better able to bear up against famine, fever, and disease, and the minor mishaps of this life; and their minds being put in a healthy and cheerful state, will prevent them from being

discontented and irritable,—will make them more contented with their condition in life, whatever that may be, and will thus be a means of making them better and more powerful workmen, as well as good and better subjects,—more easy to be ruled and governed in times of public commotion and trouble. There can be no doubt that Cemeteries are better than their own houses, or, at the best, dusty streets and roads.

All are interested in this subject. The speculator, those from necessity, the legislator, the master, and lastly, the benevolent. ^{Interest of all in them.} The purposes of all and each of these might be attained without loss to any; and yet those who were to reap the advantage would have more pleasing and hallowed, as well as more reverential feelings for the dead, as well as for death, from its being in connection with their pleasure and health. It would keep them in remembrance, and not make them forgetful of it, as some believe, from too frequent communication wearing off the effect, or that stern dread, fear, and awe which some fancy is the only true mark of a right feeling and respect for the dead, but which is taken away by frequency of association with this or any other thing else that is dreadful. By being frequently there it would remind them of their frail mortality, and make the idea of it pleasanter, and make them better able to think of its approach, than when they had a gloomy and fearful impression of its coming; no doubt there is something hallowing and pleasing in some, or what are called pleasant, venerable old churchyards, but there are many more which cause a fearful and disagreeable impression. There are some who consider it a want of respect or violation of the dead to make burying-grounds places of recreation: but when it is considered as a means to prevent death, and make life pleasant, and to impart happiness, such false respect for the dead must give way to the benefit the living are to receive; for the living and the preservation of life are to be attended to and to be preferred to the false, but, when in its proper place, true respect for the dead. We need hardly say that such antiquated feelings are fast dying away under a more enlightened system of thought, but it is not long ago since such notions were prevalent.

In conclusion, we have only to remark that parks, and instead of them, Cemeteries, from being sources from which health, fresh and pure air, are to be derived, and, together with a sufficient supply of nourishment, are the two only great assistants in preventing disease, and more especially fever, which is apt to arise from a want of any one of these, as also, in a minor degree, from want of cleanliness, as well as from intemperance, which breaks down and weakens the body, and is a means of preventing the receiving and taking the benefit of any of the other three. Cemeteries may also have the effect of withdrawing the intemperate from their dissipated companions, and having any one of these many good effects, is a sufficient reason of itself to stimulate all to erect and construct Cemeteries, &c., but when all these different reasons are combined, there can be little doubt they ought to attract and stimulate the attention of all to such an easy and effectual means of repressing, improving, and remedying such important evils under which all are labouring.

Mr Cobden
and his
tribute.

Note.—When so large a sum as L.80,000 has been collected as a testimonial to Mr Cobden ; if he is wealthy enough without it, I think it ought to be given up by Mr Cobden for the purpose of erecting baths, or parks, or cemeteries, say for instance in his own district, and such places to be named after him ; or a thousand pounds or less might be given to so many different places, as an encouragement to others to assist in such undertakings. We do not deny that Mr Cobden assisted very much, for a few years, in the attempts to get the Corn-Laws repealed, but he also had very powerful assistance ; but there is one person who, we think, deserves greater praise, and has more merit, than Mr Cobden or any other person, but one who is seldom heard of now—we mean Mr Buckingham, who, every session for many years, we might almost say single-handed, kept up an agitation for the repeal of the Corn-Laws. We have no doubt, if he had not kept alive the attention of the public annually to this important subject, it would have fallen to a certain extent to the ground, and there would not have been so many prepared supporters to carry it so quickly through as it was done when it was found necessary to do so. He alone prepared the way, kept up the fire, and rendered it an easy matter, when a famine arose, for Mr Cobden and the League to effect its repeal. It is curious a Buckingham should be an opponent leader, and get a testimonial, when Marquis of Chandos, and a Buckingham should be the great leader for their repeal, and get no testimonial, and that both, when there was so much contention about the measure, should never be heard of during or after the strife, and another carry away the prize—Mr Cobden.

WILLS OR TESTAMENTS.

TESTAMENTS or WILLS are of essential importance as a means of preventing disputes about the proper succession to property and wealth,—as to whom this or that may belong to, and who has a right to this, that, and the other article. By making a will, in general all disputes about to whom anything left by a deceased person belongs to, are summarily settled by referring to the will. There are disputes and disagreements among distant relations towards near ones, about they would have got this, that, and the other thing, if there had been a will. They say they ought to have got it, and have good a right to it, as it was always intended and promised, or half promised or hinted at by their deceased friend that they were to get it. It is also a cause of unseemly disputes and unholy estrangements, hatred, and dislike between brothers and sisters, and their mother, the want of a Will, as they suppose their older brother or others have received more than they ought to have got, and that they have got less than their right, or what they should have got; some perhaps from having been a principal help and means of making the money, others from the care they took of it, and of the person of the deceased, and from their being constantly with their parents, while the others were away or looking after their own interest or affairs. It often happens, from this want of a testament, that brothers and sisters, whom their neighbours and every one considered to be so affectionate and fond of one another, and who were brought up all their lives together, that it was thought nothing could part or estrange them from one another, have yet, from the want of will, and the distribution of their father and mother's property according to law, become the most bitter enemies of one another, and have remained estranged from one another for the rest of their lives; and even the children of these have passed, and pass, and look at each other as strangers, and in many cases they do not know one another. This state of feeling as frequently happens where there is a will, and where its contents are divided with too much partiality. By not making a will, many near and dear relations who have and had a right to expect something to assist or make them more comfortable, have, by the want of a will, been bereft of this hope which their relation always intended for them in his lifetime, when he used to support them, and, from doing so, they had a right to expect it; but, from some cause or other, a will was never made, and they were left in poverty or beggary.

There are many who bring up near relations who are not entitled to succeed to any property of those who kept or reared them in affluence, luxury, or comfort, and were more like their own children than more distant relations; there are others who are brought up this way, who are not relations, but by the not making a will in time, by accident, disease, and death suddenly coming on them, and cutting them off, they have not made a will, and those whom they have so long and carefully provided for, and whom it was their duty to see properly provided for after their death, have been reduced and left in poverty, and to a condition in life which their bringing up has totally unfitted them for, and such bringing up has made them so helpless, that they are scarcely able to provide for their least wants.

There are many dependents and faithful servants who have served, and perhaps been brought up with their masters from childhood, and who are now grey in his service, and who have served him faithfully, and may perhaps have been a means of preserving and prolonging his life, from their care and attention, and from their faithful services; these servants have a right to be supported by their master after they are unfit for service, whether they have served him faithfully or not, if they have grown grey under his roof; but those who have been faithful ought to be left that which will keep them in a state of comfort for the rest of their lives; but these are frequently, by the want of a will, turned out of the house where they have been and served so faithfully all their lives; they are cast out on the wide world with what pittance they may have saved, but not sufficient to keep them, and are left comfortless and destitute by the want of a will.

Servants and
wills.

All servants who have grown grey in their master's service ought to have a sum or legacy to the amount or more which will keep them comfortable, given to them in their master or mistress's lifetime; at least it ought to be handed over to some one in their name, to be given at their master's death, or when unfit for further service, and before it if the master should think fit. It ought to be so fixed and settled that it may not be squandered, or any one take advantage of it, and get it from them, as this is a very frequent occurrence. All who can afford to give it before death ought to do it, more especially to those who have been dependent upon them, and who are likely to want by their not making a will or testament. There are many who will not make a testament, because they fancy they are too young to do it; but as death may lay hold on them any day, it is not too soon. Some who are nervous, and suspect their relations wish to poison them, or will not take care of them, that they may die sooner, instead of putting off making a will, or being frightened to do so, ought, so as to prevent mistakes, to bequeath it to some useless purpose, unless they live to a certain age, or unless they live and are comfortable to a certain age, and the longer they live they might say they will leave their relations or others more money than if they were to live only for a short time.

There are those who do not make wills, because they are afraid that all their relations will wish them soon dead if they make one, and will look after and take great care to preserve them, so long as they have no will, that they may not leave the world without mak-

ing a will. However strange it may seem, such a feeling is very common.

There are a very great many who do not make wills, because they think they have too little to put into a will, and that they will wait until they get or make a larger amount of money or property, and will make one doing do for all.

There are many who put off from day to day, and from year to year, saying they are going to make a will, and never get it done, when they are carried to their grave; and so disputes and law pleas happen among their relations, and servants and dependents are left in want and poverty.

There are many who make wills who distribute their wealth in a very unfair, thoughtless, and partial manner, and also in a very insecure way, so that any one may get what they have left, by cheating and taking advantage of those to whom it is bequeathed, and such may never get it, and if they do, they only get a part of it. This may and very frequently happens in the case of girls, who are easily swindled and cheated out of their money, as well as minors or children, or the silly and weak, whose persons and fortunes may be entrusted to unscrupulous relations and guardians, who, taking advantage of the money entrusted to them, never give it up, or if they do, only give a part of it, and keep the rest, or they may have squandered the whole of it; and those who ought to have got it are left in poverty, while they ought to have been rich and affluent. It would often be better not to make a will, as have one without the administration of the funds being carefully cared for, and preserved without the risk or chance being given to any one to use them, but those for whom they were intended. Most wills, so far as we know and believe, are very improperly, injudiciously, very carelessly, and thoughtlessly, and we will say, are very and most unaffectionately made, and are made with a great want of foresight, and forethought of the wants and risks of the future, in so far as they in general regard their wives and their daughters.

Wills made for wives and daughters, although the sum given to the whole may be large, yet, by its improper and injudicious distribution, and regulation as to future accidents and wants, the sum to each is very small, and under many circumstances more likely to happen than not, the sum to each is only a pittance, and the interest on it, if each singly were to depend on it, would go no length in supporting them, as they had been brought up; but if this whole sum to all, and say not just so much given to the sons, who are more able to provide for themselves, and to bear up against the hardships of the world,—we say, if these single sums to the mother and each of the girls were kept in one, and properly regulated by certain distributions, as we will try to shew, much misery, discomfort, poverty, and unhappiness might be spared to mothers and daughters which we see every day. We may see widows and daughters in every town, who, by this improper management of their portions, are in very poor and uncomfortable circumstances; and this happens because each girl gets her small portion at her marriage; and this being taken from the general stock, as they gradually marry, gradually diminishes the comforts of the rest; and of the last, or the mother, who has only her own small pittance

now to depend on, and the daughters make very bad and improper and hasty marriages, as their sisters marry, because they think they will be better off than on their own small pittance, which was not sufficient to keep them as they used to be in their father's house, where they might live in splendour, affluence, or comfort. Testaments are made very injudiciously in not settling and fixing the sums on the girls, so that any person by taking advantage of her may not get it into their hands, and use it for their own purposes, if it is not fixed in such a way that a husband may not use it and squander it improperly, and if he should die, leave nothing behind him, not even his wife's portion, and she is left destitute by not fixing it on her for her life at least; or it may happen that it is not fixed so as to prevent creditors of a husband who becomes bankrupt from seizing on the wife's portion, which, if they do, and her husband should at the time leave her and her children destitute. It is of the greatest importance that sums to wives and daughters should be so fixed, and even laid out before death, as to prevent such things happening, if such should happen to their own father, it is as safe to do it when you can; no one knows what may happen to him. A father may be very wealthy, but he may sign his name as a security to a *sure friend*, and by doing so sign his name once too often, and by the failure of his friend, he and his family are beggared; but if he, while he had been wealthy and in health, had settled and fixed his wife's and his daughter's portions on them, he and they might have lived in comfort, although he had lost the rest of his property; but not having done so, or having only so fixed it that it could be used by himself for his creditors if they wished it, he and his family are in a state of beggary. It ought to be so fixed that neither the girls nor the father can give it away until the girl's death.

Annuities.

Annuities are very useful, and especially in the case of one girl; but where there are many girls, and they are not likely to get married, we think an annuity is a very injudicious and uneconomical way of leaving them money. No doubt, many have not the patience, perseverance, or habit of keeping money when they have got it, and they fancy by putting any small sums which they may save in this way for the purposes of annuity, it is thus saved, and a provision is left to their daughters; but if they did not do this, they would spend all their income, and be able to leave nothing to their wife and daughters. There is no doubt there are many who cannot keep and save small sums of money. Where there are such, we would advise them to buy annuities or a life insurance; but we would say generally, that annuities are very injudicious and fatal to the after comfort of mothers, and girls who are not likely to get husbands; if the single annuities of four girls should only amount to L.40 each, one would think the L.40 a very nice marriage-portion; but when it is considered the girl has been brought up in luxury and affluence, it is less than enough to keep her. If the four do not marry, considering the way in which they have been brought up, although it may have been very plain, L.160 is not a very great deal to keep them, if they do not marry; but say that they marry or die: one dies or marries, and three are only left with L.120 instead of L.160. This is a very great reduc-

tion. If it had not been an annuity which dies with them, it might have been settled on the other three ; but it happens to be an annuity, and it is lost to them, it may happen, a year after its first payment. A second dies, and the other two are left with only L.80. They had a house before, they are not able to keep it with this. If their sisters' portion had not been an annuity, they would have had double of what they now have, very nearly so if you take the interest of the sums from the first time you collect them ; for the annuity, up to the payment of it, without buying an annuity, and adding the different sums together, and the interest of them up to the last payment, you will find that the interest from this sum is not very far short of the annuity, and you have the principal sum, and are able to bequeath it at death, or it may be fixed as one sister dies to the others, and they have thus the full amount of income, how many more or less of the sisters die. If a third sister dies, the fourth is only left with L.40, a very miserable and insufficient sum, when she might have had at the least L.140 a-year, with a large principal, and might get a good husband who was not able to marry her as he was not able to support a wife.

Girls are far better to live singly and in comfort than to make hurried and unhappy marriages, as they will do to improve and better their condition, as most of them fancy they do by marrying ; such unhappy or thoughtless uncomfortable marriages are very often and very likely to be made by an improper distribution and regulation of girls' portions, from a want of foresight in not giving proper directions with regard to its future management.

We will now give examples of various sums from L.1000 a-year down to L.150 a-year, for distribution and after-regulation, for the benefit of mothers and girls, who, by injudicious arrangement, are often left imperfectly provided for. We will say a father has L.1000 a-year to leave amongst a wife, four daughters, and a son. A father with this income ought to save about L.200 a-year for various necessities and circumstances which may suddenly occur, or for a life insurance, or for the purpose of leaving more to his family—all which purposes it will suit.

Give the son L.500 a-year, and the mother and four daughters the other L.500 amongst them, and a house and furniture, or the rent of the house, as they may then remove to the country, or to a part of the town more healthy, and where houses are cheaper, and perhaps better, although the quarter is not so fashionable, and they will be better able to associate with their former neighbours, who, before her husband's death, were perhaps above her in point of fortune ; and it may be as well, if that is the case, that she gives up regularly associating with them, as it will only lead to expense and outlay on her part, to give and receive them on the same terms, while her fortune is inadequate for the purpose ; but if they or she were not above her in point of fortune before her husband's death, she may still freely associate with them on the same footing as before, or without any scarcely perceivable difference, or by any encroachments on her and her daughters' private comforts, in order to receive them in the same way as before ; but if she fancies she cannot do it, we would advise such a one to be satisfied with being on an equal footing with those of her own income, whatever that

Will of L.1000
for a mother,
four daughters,
and a son.

may be, or less, as the society will be generally as good where there is L.300 as L.500 a-year, perhaps there will be less of affectation, and more of good-will in those of the smaller sum.

Distribution
on a sister or
sisters marry-
ing.

If any of the daughters marry during their mother's lifetime, they get nothing until her death, at least not above L.20 a-year each, as they are married; and the son, at the mother's death, gets another L.100 a-year, which makes his income L.600 a-year; and the four girls have L.400 a-year amongst them, and the house or rent of it, and the furniture. If one girl marries she gets L.50 a-year on her marriage, and three sisters are left with L.350 a-year; a second marries, and she gets L.50 a-year, and the two sisters are left with L.300 a-year; a third marries, and she gets L.50 a-year, and the last and fourth sister has L.250 or L.200 a-year, any of the two that may be thought best; if the last sum, the brother may get other L.20 a-year, and the three sisters other L.10 a-year each, the fourth sister has the house or the rent, and the furniture; with this she may live very comfortably, instead of only having L.100 a-year; and her sisters, being married, do not require their full L.100 a-year, as they ought not to marry unless their husbands are able to keep them; and if their husbands only marry them for their money, they are better without them.

The fourth daughter, with L.250 a-year, and the rent of a house and furniture, might be better to give up keeping a house and servants, as she might live less expensively with some of her friends by boarding with them, or stopping with them, or boarding with some respectable family. It is always best to have a place of one's own to go to, if any disputes should happen with your friends, and you will not be in the way of the irritation which the sight of each other, or the object of it, keeps up, and you will cool better by private reflection and absence, and will see the matter in a different light, and apologise, or be apologised to; or it may be you may have thought yourself slighted, which you may more than likely find out by cool reflection that you only thought it, and that you were mistaken, and then you can return to your sister or friend; but it is always best to have a place, if in a large town you can have good lodgings or rooms. If this last sister, the fourth, marries, the income of the other three is increased to L.100 each, and the fourth has L.100 a-year also, and the house goes to the son, who has L.600 a-year, and the furniture is divided amongst the four sisters.

Distribution
on the death
of a or the sis-
ters.

If any of the sisters should die before marrying, the brother gets L.50 a-year; if two die, the brother gets other L.50 a-year, and the two sisters have L.300 a-year; if the third sister dies, the fourth sister has L.250 a-year, and the rent of the house and the furniture, and the brother has L.750 a-year; and if the fourth sister marries, the brother gets L.50 more, making his income amount to L.800 a-year, with the house; and the sister has L.200 a-year, with the furniture, and without house or rent, and this L.200 a-year she may bequeath as she pleases.

The four sisters, on their marriage, may bequeath all their money as they please.

Distribution,
brother dying
unmarried,
&c.

The brother may bequeath his money as he pleases, if he has children; but if he should die childless—if all the sisters are mar-

ried but two, or whether any are married or not,—say two are unmarried, these two get L.50 a-year each at his death, thus making their joint incomes amount to L.400 a-year, with a house and furniture. If the third sister marries, she gets L.75 a-year at her marriage, and the other two married sisters get L.25 a-year more each, making their yearly incomes amount to L.75 a-year each, and the fourth sister has L.275 a-year, with furniture; and at her marriage her sisters get L.50 a-year more each, making the annual income of each of the four sisters amount to L.125, which they may bequeath at their death as they please, but cannot give it away until then. If they do not use it, it must be used by their family if they require it; and if they do not, it can be saved, and the savings spent as the sister chooses. Any of the sisters that are married ought to have a right if their husbands die, and they are without children, and if nothing can be said against their conduct, and by depositing the money they got at their marriage into the original bequeathed sums of the other unmarried sisters, she may reside with them, as before marriage, if she is so inclined; and any sum that is saved from the yearly general fund, is to be equally distributed amongst the unmarried sisters, to do with it as they please.

A parent bequeathes L.500 a-year to a wife, four girls, and a boy. Will of L.500, A parent with an income of this amount ought to save at the least for a wife, four L.100 a-year, and ought to suit his society and expenditure accordingly, and he will have this for any sudden want, or amusement, or pleasure that may require it, or for a life insurance. To the son he bequeathes L.150 a-year, and to the mother and four sisters L.350 a-year, with a house and furniture, or only the rent of the house. At the mother's death, the son gets L.50 a-year more, making his income L.200 a-year, and the four sisters have L.300 a-year, with a house or rent, and the furniture. If one sister marries she gets L.40 a-year, and the three sisters L.260 a-year; a second marries and she gets L.40 a-year, and two have L.220 a-year; a third marries and she gets L.40 a-year, and the fourth sister has L.150 a-year, with the furniture, and the son gets L.12 a-year more, and the three sisters get L.6 a-year more, which makes the income of each of the three amount to L.46 each a-year. If the third and fourth sisters are married, all the sisters have L.50 a-year each, and the furniture is divided amongst them, and the son gets another L.100 a-year, which makes his income amount to L.300 a-year, and a house.

If a sister dies before being married, the brother gets L.50 a-year; if a second dies he gets L.50 a-year more, and his income now amounts to L.300 a-year, and the two sisters to L.200 a-year, with rent of house and furniture; a third dies, and the son gets L.50 more, making his yearly income amount to L.350 a-year, with the house; and the fourth sister has L.150 a-year, with the furniture; if she dies, the brother gets L.50 more, and the sister can bequeath the L.100 as she pleases; if she survives and marries, the division is the same.

We give an example of a father bequeathing L.300 a-year. In his rank in life, he ought easily to save L.50 a-year, for emergencies and for a life assurance.

He bequeathes to a son and mother and four sisters L.300 a-year. The son gets L.50 a-year, and the mother and girls have

Distribution of a Will of L.300 a-year to a wife, four girls, and a boy. Sisters marry-ing. L.250 a-year, with the house, or the rent of it, and the furniture. If the mother dies, the son gets another L.50 a-year; which makes the income of the four sisters amount to L.200 a-year, with rent and furniture. If one sister marries she gets L.20 a-year, and the three sisters have L.180 a-year; if a second marries she gets L.20 a-year, and two sisters have L.150 a-year,—the son getting L.10 more, which makes his income amount to L.110 a-year; if a third sister marries she gets L.20 a-year; and the fourth has L.130 a-year or L.120, and the rent and furniture,—the brother getting L.120 instead of L.110; and the sister may board better than she can keep a house on this sum, and it is as much as her station in life requires, and will keep her comfortably; if she marries, she gets L.30 a-year, and the house goes to the brother, whose income now amounts to L.180 a-year; and each of the four sisters gets L.30 a-year for their income, and the furniture is divided.

Sisters dying. If any of the sisters should die before being married, L.20 go to the brother, and the three sisters have L.180; if two of the sisters die, the brother gets L.20 a-year more, or say L.30 a-year more, and two sisters have L.150; if three sisters die, the brother gets L.20 a-year more, and his income amounts to L.170 a-year, and the fourth sister has L.130 a-year, with the furniture,—the brother getting the house; if the third sister dies, the brother gets L.80 a-year, which makes his income amount to L.250 a-year,—the sister being allowed to bequeath L.50 a-year and the furniture as she thinks fit; if she marries, she gets L.50 a-year and the furniture, and the brother the rest, in the same way as if she were to die.

Brother dying. If the brother dies before his sisters, he can bequeath as he pleases L.100 a year, but any thing more that he may get by the death or marriage of any of the sisters is equally divided amongst the sisters, to be used at their death as they please (whether they are married or not), that is to say; if the son has no children, in which case he bequeathes all he gets as he pleases. A very common sum to bequeath, and one from which much discomfort and want of proper provision is likely to arise to females, if it is not properly distributed, and that more in their favour than is usually done, which is the cause of this want of provision and discomfort to them; and girls ought always to be provided for before boys, where they are in health and of sound mind and body; but, of course, where they are not, they ought to be considered as girls, and have a common provision with the girls made for them. If any of the brothers at any time should require to stay at home, either from sickness or from an injury of any kind, or from want of employment, by giving his yearly sum, if his conduct is not objectionable, ought to be allowed to stop with the sisters.

Will of L.200 to a wife, two boys, and three girls. A father has L.200 a-year; from this he ought to save from L.20 to L.30 a-year, for extra expenses, an insurance, &c.; and he ought to be able to save this sum in the rank of life in which he ought to move. A father in this case has two boys and three girls and a wife, and he bequeathes to the boys L.20 a-year each, to the wife and three girls L.160 a-year, with a house and furniture; if the mother dies, the two sons get L.5 more each, and the three sisters have L.150 a-year, with the furniture, but without a house.

Girls marry-ing. One girl marries, and the two sisters have L.140 a-year,—the first

sister getting L.10 a-year; the second sister marries, and she gets L.10 a-year, and the two brothers get L.15 a-year more each, making their annual income amount to L.40 each; and the third sister's to L.100, with furniture. If the third sister marries, the oldest son gets the house, and both brothers L.30 a-year more to each, making the annual incomes of each amount to L.70; and the two sisters who have already L.10 a-year each, get other L.10 a-year each, which makes their yearly income amount to L.20 each; and the third sister has the same. The brothers may bequeath their money at their death, as they please; and the sisters, if they are married, may bequeath the sums they get, at their death, namely, L.20 a-year each, and if they are not married, the sum they get at their marriage, L.10, and the rest goes to the brothers in the usual way, and they can bequeath the other L.10 which they get at the third sister's marriage as they please; but no one gets it till then.

We will give one more example, namely, one of L.150 a-year. Will of L.150, In this case, a person may save from L.10 to L.15 a-year, for a-year to a emergencies, accidents, and for an insurance for his life. In this wife, two case, the father has two sons, a wife, and three girls; he gives L.10 sons, and a-year to each of the sons; to the mother and daughters he leaves three girls. L.130 a-year, with furniture. If the mother dies, the three girls get L.120 a-year, with the furniture,—L.5 a-year more is given to the sons, making each of their incomes amount to L.15 a-year each. If one of the sisters marries, she gets L.10 a-year, and the two Sisters marry- sisters have L.110 a-year, and furniture; a second marries and ing. gets L.10 a-year; and the two brothers get L.5 a-year more each, which makes each of their incomes amount to L.20 a-year, and the third sister has L.90 a-year; if she marries she gets L.20 a-year, and the two other sisters have each L.20 a-year, and the furniture is divided amongst the three. The two brothers' incomes amount to L.45 a-year each.

The brothers may bequeath their portions as they please; but if a sister dies without marrying, the two brothers get L.5 a-year each; if a second dies without marrying, they get other L.10 a-year each, which makes each of their annual incomes amount to L.30 a-year each, and the sister has L.90 a-year; and if she marries, she has L.30 a-year, and the two brothers have L.60 a-year each, which they may bequeath as they please. So may the sister with her L.30.

There are many circumstances which may require a deviation from these examples. The above are only given to shew more clearly, and give some idea how such distributions ought to be made, as wills generally give and provide too little for the future wants and exigencies of mothers and girls, by being also more liberal to boys than girls; the last ought to be cared for before boys, as they are able to do something for themselves, which the girls are not; and they are able to make up for a deficiency in a testament by their own labours, whereas girls are always dependent on what is bequeathed to them, be it too small or too large for their wants; but men, if theirs is too small for their wants, can increase it by their own labour and exertions.

Many fathers are so senseless and thoughtless, and have so little

Wills in cases of misconduct or incapacity of individuals. real affection for their children or of duty to them, that either from ill nature or a dislike to them, or from their not believing that they are able, or likely to take care of any thing that may be left to them, from past or present misconduct, &c. they do not leave them any thing at their death, although they may have nothing previously. Where it happens from dislike, a parent is to be highly reprobated for such a piece of gross injustice, and neglect and want of the first and last duty of a parent, and of all affection in not leaving at least as much as is sufficient to provide for his wants of the commonest and most necessary kind. Again, it is really a piece of gross stupidity, and want of common sense and foresight, and of affection and duty, in a parent, not to leave his son something at his death, on account of misconduct, or that he will squander it; and therefore he leaves him nothing, and allows him to starve, and thus a chance of putting him in a respectable way, which has with some a very good moral effect in reforming them, is lost. If a son's conduct is bad, a father ought to leave so much to trustees to provide for him clothing and the necessities of life, and they ought not to give him money; but if he wants clothing, a reasonable yearly quantity may be allowed to him, which he may get at any place agreed on by going there if he requires it; he gets it at certain regular times of the year, not all at once, as he may dissipate and sell it, and be without clothing for the rest of the year; the quality ought to be according as he is likely to wear, or sell it, and the station or society that he keeps, coarse or fine accordingly. In the same way he may board and get his food and his bed, and clothes washed, at any place agreed on; if he wants it, he gets it by going there, and if he does not wish it, he may just let it alone, but it will be his own fault if he starve. The trustees appoint the places, and may give him the option of selecting them to suit him, but they need not agree to it if likely to be of bad repute; they pay for everything from the money at their disposal, but he gets no money, and if his conduct should improve, a sum ought to be left to give him weekly or yearly, as there is belief in his reformation, but of course if he turns to his old ways, it is withdrawn; and if he is to all appearance thoroughly reformed, as may be known by being so for years, and when he is past the time of life for having an inclination for evil ways, he may get the whole sum or part of it, which he would have got if he had been well-behaved; if he does not get it, it ought to be given to his wife and children, if they are well-behaved.

Wills and provisions for spendthrifts, &c. If there is any one who cannot manage any money that might be given to them, they ought only to get a small part of that which may be left to them, or they may only get a provision like that of the dissipated person; and if their future conduct should allow of it, they may be entrusted with a part of it; and if they should again turn out bad, or manage it improperly, it ought to be withdrawn, and a provision given to them. Their good conduct may be judged of by their steadiness at any employment, if their health, &c., permit of it, and by their managing and taking care of that which they have; but it may be years before a true reformation may be effected, as those who are and always have been badly inclined,

are very likely to break out, when left to themselves, and when in the way of temptation.

A father ought not to bequeath the principal sum to a reprobate, or one evil-disposed, or one who is not likely or capable of managing it, but only give them the use of a certain portion of the interest, by which means they will always have a provision ; and during their life-time, be they dissipated or bad-conducted, or not, or whether they pretend to be reformed or not, and if they are really reformed and improved, they will get the benefit of it, and will be encouraged to reform and to remain so ; and a father will have the satisfaction of knowing, whether his child is good or bad, that he will never be in want ; a very great satisfaction to a parent who has any affection for his son.

POTATOES.

As this root and food is of the greatest importance to the people Great utility of the British islands, to the wealthy and affluent as an article that of Potatoes. is highly useful as a means of health and of preserving it, on account of this root having a healthy and constitutional effect, more than wheat-flour, which is used in its stead; and it is a root which may be eaten for a longer period to animal food than wheat or oaten bread, without palling on the taste of any one, besides giving the animal food a greater relish, and more especially salt meat, and as more of it can be taken by children without their tiring of it, it is thus in their case a means of making them eat less animal food by eating more of this kind of food, which is better for them; when they have flour bread, they eat less of it and more of animal food, which is thus hurtful for them, as well as the flour bread being at the same time less laxative than potatoes; and in which last view of it, potatoes are of essential importance to the upper For the Upper ranks, who are more or less subject to constipation and such like Ranks. irregularities of the alimentary canal, and such in their case is oftenest the source of their complaints (for such we mean good dry or mealy potatoes, which they ought only to use, and not the soft doughy or waxy kind which we have in wet seasons).

There is another class to whom it is of importance more as an For the Mid-article of diet, that is necessary for the nourishment and maintenance of life, more than as a means of preserving health, as it is also in this last. To the middle classes it is of great consequence, from its being an article that ought to be, and that has been cheap, and that can be got cheaply, unless under some unfavourable circumstances, as has occurred of late years, and being an article that is very nourishing, and not very, we might say not at all, injurious, although taken in very large quantities, it is a useful article of diet, and one which almost all are very fond of; it is therefore one of the greatest assistants of the middle classes, of making a small income go a far way; and when they cannot get it, it tells, and must tell sadly on their large families and small incomes, as the expense of flour is so much greater, and not being so agreeable to the taste when eaten so frequently without any variety, as also to the health, from not being so laxative in its nature.

There is another class, the working class, to whom this root is of As an article vital consequence, and more especially those of Ireland and Scot- of Food for the land, as its use in England is not so great, but it is every day in- Poor and creasing. To the working-classes, as being an article which can, Working-Classes. under certain favourable circumstances be got, we might almost

say for nothing (as in certain districts the farmer will give a person ground to plant potatoes, if he will furnish a sufficient quantity of manure, and he will also carry the manure, if it is within a short distance, as well as plough the field and carry home the potatoes. The reason is, that the field is to be ploughed at any rate, and to be left in fallow without dung, but by getting manure for nothing the land is improved, and it costs the farmer nothing either in trouble or expense, but improves his land and benefits the poor), and an article which, almost alone, is sufficient to support life and keep it in a strong and vigorous condition (but those who are thus fed are liable to break down sooner than those who have a richer diet, more particularly if they are much exposed to wet, cold, or hard labour). It is therefore of the greatest utility and benefit to those whose wages are small, and who cannot afford to get any other substitute unless wheat and oats, which in years of scarcity, as in the present, are fearful in price, and cost so much more than potatoes.

Advantages from the great variety of ways of preparing them, and the facility of doing it.

The working-man, as well as others, can prepare potatoes in so many different inexpensive, palatable, and nourishing ways, that in this respect it is superior to any other vegetable, as well as the ease with which they may be prepared, and the little expense attending their preparation, as well as their being kept for a length of time without spoiling to wait the workmen's arrival, or to be carried to him. 1st, In the boiled state, with the skin or jacket on; in this way you may eat them longer without tiring than any other way; you may take them to milk, or with butter, or fat melted and salt and pepper put into it, and dipping the potatoes into this and taking a bite, and dipping again, and so on, this is a very good variety to hungry people: 2^d, They may be cut and put into broth with other vegetables; broth made with a little fat or suet is quite common in Scotland: 3^d, They may be mashed with a little butter or fat and milk mixed through them; as also with cabbages, onions, or turnips, and in any of these ways taken alone or with milk; again, they may be cut into thin slices with onions interspersed, some butter and fat on the top, and a very little water, if any, and put on the fire until ready; this they call stoving them, and is a very agreeable change; again, they may be sliced and fried; again, they may be made into a good soup with butter or fat and onions and water, with turnips and carrots grated to flavour and colour them. When whole potatoes are cold, they may be used again for all these and other purposes as numerous.

Their vital importance to the State.

It is of vital importance to the existence and well being of the State, that the cause of, and the remedy for, the failure of this most important article of diet should be found out and prevented. As to its importance with regard to the State, we need only look to the ten millions of money which have been bestowed on the poor of Ireland during the last year, and we may safely say that it was caused by the failure of the potato-crop in that island. As it is on this root or tuber that they live and thrive there, and on this alone, it was not for the want of labour or wages, as there was and has been more labour and wages going there than there has been for years; and also, there has been a greater diminution of its inhabitants during the last year from emigration, as well as their coming to Scotland and England in greater numbers than usual, to work at

the railways ; such being clearly the case, the throwing away or expending so much money, at least so far as there is any chance of its return is connected, it is only adding to the national debt, as the most of the improvements may only be able, when finished, to pay the expenses of carrying them on and working them, and at the best only the working of them, and the yearly interest of the money expended on them ; this may be seen in the case of the railways of Great Britain, only a very few being considered likely to pay up the capital that has been expended on them—the profits of most, and that without opposing lines, not realizing, after paying expenses, the interest that is usual to be had on lands, houses, ships, &c. ; in some, the traffic will not pay the expenses alone ; and in one or two cases, certain lines of railway have failed or become bankrupt. Such secrets are only coming out, and shortly, we are afraid, they will be too common as well as public, and will do great harm to the inexperienced and ignorant, who may be tempted and gulled to invest their only and hard-earned gains in such speculations ; and farmers and others, who may be situated near lines, are very apt to buy shares in such lines, as they suppose they are encouraging them for their own benefit, in the way of outlets for getting in and sending away produce, and also with the chance of getting good interest for their money. Landlords encourage them for the same reason, without considering, if they do so it is at the risk of involving and ruining their tenants if the lines should not succeed, and thus not being able to work their lands properly for want of money, and also the non-payment of their rents, which they now find it difficult to pay even in good years.

Such a large sum being given away without much chance of its return, it must bear and weigh down the energies of the nation to a great extent, although in the case of Ireland, it was of vital importance to the State that such assistance should be given to an important portion of the empire, which would have been ruined and depopulated without such assistance. (If Ireland had been a separate kingdom, she could not have given such needful aid.)

It is to prevent the necessity of giving such immense sums, as well as for the public health. Some may talk of the immense sums that were given away during the late war, in a few days or weeks at one time ; but during the late war the national burdens were not so heavy as they are now, and they could better be given than at present, the national debt being already too burdensome, without additional sums every now and then, however small, being added to it, and making in a short time a very large and inconvenient sum for the nation to pay the interest of, and at the same time always taking and taking off taxes, which the people are always crying out about taking off, and even those whom these loans were to benefit, and without thinking that they are the cause of the taxes not being taken off, as in the case of the nation voting ten millions to Ireland, the yearly interest amounting to three or four hundred thousand pounds. (Any other portion of the empire may require the same extensive assistance.) It is impossible to diminish the taxes until they diminish and reduce the national debt, which is increased for their benefit, and is increased on account of so many taxes being taken off before it is possible to do it ; as, if they take

off taxes without leaving sufficient, or more than is barely sufficient, to pay the expenses of the nation and the interest of the national debt, they have nothing over as a reserve fund for any casualties, as the present, that may occur, or a reserve to pay off gradually the national debt, and thus reduce the interest that is required yearly, and at the same time the taxes which weigh most heavily on the nation, which last cannot be effected without a prior increase of the revenue, in order to diminish the national debt. Until the national debt is diminished, and so long as it goes on increasing, for the benefit, at certain times, of all, the taxes must be increased, as well as remain undiminished.

The people,
the national
debt, and
taxes.

There are many, the people more especially (who ever go by this name), who wish the national debt done away with—a very good idea, and a very good and great benefit it would be to all,—but it is without paying themselves (without knowing it), and those who are creditors and holders of this national debt. This could not be done without injuring the persons who at present lend the country this money, in the same way as they do in any bank—so in the same way they invest it in government securities or the national debt for the sake of the interest and the security. Now, by taking off the taxes to a great extent, and by diminishing the national debt without paying the holders of this debt, the legal sums or principal invested in it, and the interest, we are breaking our faith and robbing and ruining ourselves, as well as foreigners from all parts of the globe who have lent money to the government and the country; that is, government securities, or the national debt the country made. In the case of American faith, a year or two ago, a great noise was made; and the other day, in the case of the Spanish loan, lent by private individuals at their own risk, and without the knowledge or sanction of this government, they had no business to lend their money without running the risk themselves, as it was for a high interest, and they knew, or ought to have known, the state of the country; but there is no doubt they did: and they lent their money, or bought the loan from the lenders, who might be private individuals of Spain, and yet not with the knowledge of the Spanish government. Knowing the state of the country, they only lent it because the interest was great, although the security of the principal, or the payment of the interest, was not good; or if the interest was not great, what amounted to the same thing, they got the principal at far below what it cost, or what was given for it. In the same way you take a personal security at a great hazard, either of getting the principal or interest for the sake of the high interest offered; such being greater, the risk is greater. A good security on property, the hazard being less, if there is any, the interest is less. Of course, the Spanish debt will be paid when it pays its own subjects; and at the same time, if it were not so, the British government would then have a right to interfere, but not till then.

Right to in-
terfere where
a British sub-
ject lends to
a Foreign
State.

Loan between
two nations.

Where the loan is between two nations, if the conditions of the treaty are not fulfilled, compulsory measures may then be used on the part of the nation aggrieved. If British subjects are fools enough to lend their money, without proper security, to every bankrupt, or nearly so, kingdom, they ought and must take the consequences themselves, and not render their own government

and the whole country accountable for their foolish actions, which, if it were so, would involve the country in war and debt, and everlasting expenses and squabbles. There are treaties made to prevent disturbances, to protect the subject, and for commercial purposes, for the benefit of both people and countries; but this is one which is of an individual nature, the same as a debt contracted by a Spanish to a British subject, and which must be judged and decided according to the laws of Spain, if there has been any infringement of the articles of agreement; and it is only a case for British interference if justice has not been administered strictly towards the British subject according to the laws of Spain, and not Great Britain, unless there is a treaty to that effect; and in the same way with every other nation. We have only to say that it ought to continue of an individual nature, and at the personal risk of the individual, without restricting him, in lending money to whom he may over the whole globe, but only if the country is unaccountable for it.

Now, after making a noise about foreign countries not paying their national debt, either from want of money, or from the resources of the country being exhausted, which is not the case with Spain, but from civil war; but in the case of America, it is owing to the people there not allowing themselves to be taxed for money which has been got and expended with their consent, for their own benefit, and from their diminishing their taxes to that amount, which will barely pay the expenses of the country in ordinary seasons. We are afraid that such is likely to be the case with this country, so far as we have seen the reduction of taxes during the last three years, and that in a most wholesale way. There is no denying that the revenue of Great Britain, as it at present stands, without the income-tax, is not nearly sufficient to pay the yearly legal expenses and debts of the country, and we may almost say the same, even when the income-tax is added. Now, whatever will prevent the interest of the national debt from being paid, must injure persons of all ranks and stations throughout the kingdom, and more especially those amongst the working-classes, who have money invested in the Savings' Bank, whose funds are invested in government securities at a higher rate than is usual in the banks when money is plentiful. If the taxes were not sufficient to pay the interest of the debt, as well as the expenses for protecting the country, the Savings' Banks would require to reduce the interest on the poor and laborious working man and servants' hard-earned gains and savings: if the taxes were farther reduced, he might get no interest at all, as well as those who hold government securities. They could then only say it was a nominal debt, for which they could get nothing; and if the populace got the national debt reduced without paying the holder, all the depositors in the Savings' Banks would lose their money, as well as others. It is clearly for the interest of all that a too great reduction of the taxes should not take place. The window-tax, for instance, yields a considerable revenue, and is pretty equally divided over the people. We may calculate a person's wealth to a certain extent by the number of windows he has. So with this tax the wealthiest pays most, and the least wealthy the least, and most of the working-classes pay nothing. In many respects it is a just tax. Those who can pay most doing it, and the

Injudicious
conduct and
injury in at-
tempting to
reduce the
taxes farther
as the coun-
try at pre-
sent is.

poor not at all. Now, when taxes are requisite, what a more suitable one ?

Obligation of the present and future generations to pay the national debt.

Almost the whole of those who at present hold the national debt are not the persons who made it ; but which debt was made in the late war, with the almost unanimous consent of the British nation, as the debt is increased yearly at the present day to a certain extent, though perhaps not with so much fervour and zeal as during the war. It was contracted for the benefit of the nation, and also for the generations that might follow ; and unless such a debt had been contracted at that time to get up the army and navy, and also to subsidize the nations of Europe, so as to make them able to cope with Napoleon, and to free themselves, as well as to preserve their liberty, and to employ him abroad. If such had not been done, there is little doubt that Britain would have been a province of France, and subjected to the grinding tyranny to which the other kingdom provinces of Europe under France and her generals were subjected. Instead of the national debt at present, if he had made a province of Britain—instead of losing only the sum for the present national debt, they would have taken the money, plate, and paintings that were in the country, as well as destroying and ruining every thing, and what is of more importance, our trade and commerce, and transferred it to France ; and if at last we had succeeded in ridding ourselves of him, the want of men and resources consequent on such devastation, would have left the kingdom more exhausted twenty years hence, than it was thirty years ago, or even forty, and with a larger debt than she had at the end of the war, or at the present time. It is, therefore, useless, absurd, and we may say criminal, in any people or government, if it were only to be prepared for famine, in wishing and taking off taxes, if the revenues are not sufficient, unless they will amount to so much as will pay for the interest of the national debt, expenses of the country, something over for emergencies, as well as to gradually pay off the national debt, considering that this debt is held by all ranks of the kingdom, rich as well as poor, from the prime-minister or the wealthier man, to the poorest servant-girl in the land, and not even excepting her Majesty, and by the non-payment of the interest it would bring ruin on the rich as well as the poor, who, we might say, had nothing to do with the contracting of the debt, but under your representatives, and under your sanction and word, and for your benefit as well as their own, have lent this money some years ago, and some only the other day. In giving money for the abolition of the slave-trade, and for the Irish poor, the present generation are liable for, and have increased the national debt. It cannot, therefore, be expected that every tax can be taken off, or even more than has been done, without your injury as well as others ; you must in some shape pay for the protection of life, and the property which you possess, or that of others by whom you are employed, and without whom you could not exist. There is no country, excepting only America, which is better off than yours is ; and the reason for this is, that they have a large tract of country to retire back upon when a part is over-populated, or when wages are low ; and thus they can live in affluence and comfort after they have made wages or money sufficient to buy land, and without disturbing

Impossibility of taking off more taxes.

themselves about taxes, or how the country is managed. This is the true cause of the quietness and non-division of the United States, and it is the reason why universal suffrage works with them (which it has not done with any other people either in ancient or modern times, as it has been the ruin of all, as Rome, Greece, France, South American States, &c.) we will not say smoothly, as their elections and uproars will testify, and the candidates, in many cases, who represent them, being illiterate and ignorant of the ways of the world, as well as of civil government, or the art or polish of self-government, so as to repress their passions or dislikes of nations, people, and measures, when such is necessary for the good of their nation. In America they do not require to introduce measures which are disagreeable, or are likely to be burdensome to the people, although, for the general good—such as heavy taxes, &c., the great cause of complaint of every nation, and almost the only, perhaps excepting religious intolerance, as they do not require to be taxed heavily to keep in order a riotous and starving, overwrought and underpaid population, who are always complaining, which is not in human nature to be otherwise. In America their complaints are merely transient, as they have plenty. In our case it is permanent, from misery and perpetual want, without the prospect of being relieved by having good land and plenty to fall back on like the Americans. In their condition, if they were to swamp the Parliament with members of their making, they would bring in measures for their own benefit, at least for a time, but to the injury of the manufacturers and the whole nation. Perhaps they might disband the army to begin with, so as to reduce the taxes, and by force raise their wages, although the profits of the manufacturer will not allow of it, being not sufficient to keep his mill or manufactory going, and even it is sometimes going half time to keep his workmen on, without profit to himself. If America were as populous as this country, and trade in the same way, with universal suffrage, and from many internal sources and seeds of discord, such as the slave-trade, before two or three years were over, she would be divided into the Northern and Southern States of America, or the slave-holding and the non-slave-holding kingdom. Again, there is a great source of dissension—each State having an assembly of its own, and voting for its own supplies and improvements, which may be in opposition to six of the others. Now, if any very heavy tax was proposed for the general good, four or five States might oppose it, and secede and form a kingdom for themselves. But even in this case they do not require to oppose such a tax, even at a rare time, as in Great Britain, as they have the means of paying, which is because they have farms of their own, and get plenty of cheap land. Britain has nothing like this to fall back on for her starving, overcrowded, discontented—no wonder at it—population, but for which, unless by death or emigration, there is no remedy. The only way to prevent this thoughtless way of sending members to Parliament to make them vote for measures which are not for the general good, or the future good, but for their own present benefit, and the future destruction of themselves and the whole nation, we firmly believe that there should be no vote by an elector, or a member sent to Parliament, without a certain property or money-qualifica-

Reason why
Universal Suffrage has not,
as yet, done
much, if any,
injury in America.

tion, as to the last, they would be likelier to be bribed than the former, if they were not in a certain degree independent, as they would be courted by the wealthy, and thus get a taste for luxury and expense; and by associating with them, to keep their respectability, they must be involved in expenses which they are not able to pay for, and will then take a bribe to keep up with their rich associates and pleasures, whom and which they do not care to part with or to want. Again, the elector, by having a certain annual rent to pay, will shew that he must have some property to take care of, and that he wishes to preserve it; it will shew that he has some thought about the future, and how he is to make money, and to save it to pay for this rent, and the best and surest way to preserve his money and his property. It will shew that he has a true interest and stake in the country, and that he will not vote rashly and for present benefit for one who will vote in Parliament for a measure which may destroy his property, and prevent him from getting work for his family. Again, a person without any money-qualification, will heedlessly vote for what seems to him present, and not general good or benefit. As he has no property at stake, he has not at heart, or an interest, how he votes. He may be a dissolute or thoughtless person, and is not to be depended on to give a vote that is for the good of all, as one who has property, a wife and children to support, preserve, and maintain, and who has steadiness and sense to acquire property, and will be likelier to vote for those who are likely to preserve it. Those who have not a certain rent-qualification have not a proper stake and interest in the general welfare of the kingdom, let them be educated or not.

Whether is an interested or an uninterested person likely to vote right. If you or I were shareholders in a scheme,—say an Iron Company or a Railway Company,—whether would we take the advice of those who had a share in the scheme, or those who had not, and who had nothing to lose, but might gain something by getting their opinion carried? We will say they are educated instead of being uneducated. We will also say they are rich instead of being poor. Again, we will say that both equally understand the business of the company. But in the case of politics, the wealthier and the shareholder (or elector with property) is generally better educated, and understands the business better than the non-shareholder, and has more time to give such subjects a calm consideration as may be brought under his notice, as well as his mind, from education, being better able to judge of them in a clear, and true, and impartial manner. There can be little doubt with regard to the company; we would rather take the advice and opinion of the interested person,—the shareholder in preference to the interested non-shareholder, who had much to gain by getting things his own way, but who had nothing to lose if his opinion should turn out wrong, and might even be a gainer by his opinion being taken, but which opinion might prove the destruction of the company. Again, we would not let persons who were non-shareholders judge of the propriety or impropriety of putting in or out the manager or any of the directors of such a company, as, having no risk to run, they had not the true interest of the company at heart;—in the same way the choosing of members of Parliament.

Again, interested persons are apt to be more excited at elections,

—we mean all who have votes, more than those who have not, and more especially those who have no risk to run. Being ignorant and uneducated, they may, in the meantime, gain something, and expecting much from getting everything their own way, however prejudicial to the general interest, and having no risk or property at stake, never care or think what the future consequences may be. Such are apt to be rioters if they do not get the person they wish for, or the object, and will not keep the public peace, or assist in keeping it, but excite others to riot, as they have no property to lose by any damage arising from the riot, which they would try to repress if they had. They might not come near the town or place of voting if they had not a vote, but remain at their work; but having a vote, they must come in to get a member to do as they wish—be it right or wrong. We see this tendency to riot in the non-electors, more particularly in manufacturing towns, which are the returning burghs, in particular, if they do not get the members they wish—a reason for making the returning burgh a quiet place, and at a distance from a manufacturing and excited population. The close of the election, for the same reason, ought to be late in the day, to allow the riotous population to retire to their homes, which they are not likely to do if the day is not far spent; it, at the same time, makes them separate and return home before the news how the election has gone has reached them in town, and prevents rioting if the news are against their wishes, as they are not likely to reassemble. Now, if such persons are so excitable without a vote, much more so would they be with a vote without any property to lose, if a riot took place, by being disappointed at not getting the person they wished, as well as intimidating the other electors (we require a police force and an army for such occasions, and more so for triennial parliaments. They wish parliaments more frequently, as they suppose they can manage their members better, and make them vote as they please, which they can do when they elect him, although for fourteen years, they suppose that if once elected, he will vote during the seven years as he pleases, however disagreeable to his constituency. It is to remedy this that shortening the duration of Parliament is wished. There is an effectual means to prevent it, which is, when you elect your member, elect him on the condition, that if his vote in Parliament does not please a majority of his voters, he must resign if he gets a requisition to that effect, signed by a majority of the voters, if he cannot clear himself to their satisfaction.) All know the great tendency of the populace to riot on such occasions. An ignorant, uneducated, unemployed, and starving multitude, without ever thinking, but letting others think for them, and believing every thing that may be said to them, and everything that they may be requested to do by selfishly-interested persons, more especially if it has the likelihood of bettering and improving their present condition, and giving them better wages, and keeping them from starving, however unlikely to a sensible person the chance of its coming to pass may appear; yet they vote for and riot to attain their object, it is not unnatural, but in accordance with human nature. There are some who will kill others to preserve their own life, either with their own hands, or getting others to do it for them,

or using falsehood to effect their purpose. We are almost confident that all will steal bread to save themselves or their children from starving and dying, and this from the king who sits on the throne to the beggar who is dying of starvation, and is stealing the baker's loaf. There are exceptions, but they are few ; or like a dying or drowning man, reaching out and grasping at a straw to save his life. All are done daily, even although the chance of saving life is doubtful ; but as they have nothing to lose, but a chance of gaining, they use the means to attain it, be it good or bad. We may also instance the report in a church that the gallery was likely to fall, from some noise happening near one of the pillars, caused by a seat giving way. All rush out of their seats, and endeavour to get out ; and from the crush at the door and everywhere, numbers are bruised, maimed, and killed, while others leap out of the windows, and over the galleries, and are killed and hurt, and they also trample on and push down, and thus kill others to escape, while, if they had waited calmly for a short time, they would have known it was only a false report, or by so doing the doors would not have been blocked up, or only one-half open, and all would have got out safely ; or if a pillar had given way, the sudden and unexpected motion or weight at one place, and vibration, would cause the gallery to fall ; whereas if they had waited quietly, instead of rushing out thoughtlessly, all would have been saved as well as the gallery. In the same way, a fire occurring in a church.

We should not run such risks when we know such to be the case, but try to prevent such evils ; if once they become a right and a law of the land, it is not so easy to remedy them. They may be prevented when the law of the land, but they may not ; and if they are, it is only at a fearful expense of life and money. Prevention of disease is far superior and more easily remedied than the cure of disease, and the curer of a diseased limb has more credit, and is a more talented man, than he who cuts off the same limb without pain, and in no time, although the last attracts and is considered to be the greater man by the thoughtless multitude, although, in a practical point, and to their satisfaction, they would have no disease, or if they had, they would prefer it to be cured than to be cut off by a showy and expert lopper off of human limbs.

The captain of a vessel, if he is found to be steady and careful of a vessel—not unless he is so—is made a proprietor, part owner, or has a share in the profits of such vessel, to make him still more careful, or to keep him careful of such a vessel. In the same way the voter must be known to be steady by education, and then have a stake or risk by having property.

The seat-holders, being the only persons who vote about church repairs, but not for a clergyman, until they are members, or have taken the sacrament, and thus are considered to be educated or fit persons, they must both have a property in the church as well as education.

It is the usual saying, all men are made alike, to a certain extent, at birth, but there are bad as well as good ; they mean as to their right of voting ; this depends on their conduct and education, and the share they have in the company or kingdom.

Moral force, and not physical force or brute force, as is the case with masses of thoughtless and ignorant voters, must gain the day, and be the guiding rule of the day.

When your property is destroyed by a riot, you apply to government for assistance and protection in the shape of judges, and a military and police force. Who pays for this? The person who has property and an interest in the country; but you say we pay for the duty on articles of consumption, if you are not able to be an elector by having a money-qualification, you must have very few such articles; but the property which is destroyed by rioters, who pays for this? You, or those who have property in the country. The latter; and it is they who have a right to vote, as they have a great stake in the welfare of the country. Now, if the country were swamped with members sent by these irresponsible voters, the taxes would be taken off to such an extent as would ruin and destroy the country. Taxes which only bear lightly on each, and which are not felt, and which are not complained of, ought to be retained, as also taxes on luxuries, which were not requisite either for support or comfort, but were only used as luxuries by the rich; and that, if there was not likely to be an increased consumption by a diminution of the duty, were there many such duties, each might be small in amount, but, taken together, the sum arising from them (as in the case of many of the late reductions) is large and not easily made up. There is the tax upon paper: who feels it? and its use is so widely diffused, and it is so cheap, you get it almost for nothing, that really few complain of its dearness. Take the duty off, you would not get a shilling's worth of paper cheaper than you do at present; we daresay to some large houses, who buy immense quantities of paper during the year, it might make a little difference with them, but even in their case, unless a very few, the sum is not great. It is quite common for people to say that the price of books, we may mention Bibles, is not sufficient to pay for the paper, others say it would not pay for the printing. This tax being taken off, there would be no great increase, if any, in the sale of paper. If it were only diminished, there would be no increase. We do not suppose books would be cheaper. Look at Bibles and Testaments.

There is the window-tax. Those who require most of the country's protection, the wealthy, they pay for it, not the poor. No doubt, of late years, the surveyors have been too strict and stringent, and keeping too near the letter of the law, as for instance charging for sky-lights, and many small garrets or attic windows, although small, and making two windows of one attic; that is to say, many attic windows have on each side a chess separate, and containing only one pane of glass in the breadth, and this smaller than the panes on the regular flats, as also the panes of the central chess, with three panes in the breadth. Now, to the very great inconvenience and annoyance of the payers, as well as the great diminution of light, if you did not pay for the two side-chesses as one window, instead of only charging the three as one as formerly, if they did not pay for two windows, they had to block up the side ones: it came about suddenly, no one was aware of it till the surveyor explained the new ways and means for raising the wind. Attic windows are now made with one window in most

cases, although all seemed to prefer the three chesses. We think they ought to do away with these paltry distinctions, or there may be an attempt to get the duty off entirely by those who can pay for it.

Even although the duty on some articles is burdensome, all taxes are so; yet, as the country is at present placed, with such expenses to manage it, and the interest of a large debt to be payed for yearly, it is quite impossible to take off the taxes to such an extent as is wished by many, without endangering the comfort, credit, property, and life of the subject, as well as the nation, in the eyes of other nations.

The finances of the country being in such a precarious state, and when so much money has been spent, although so properly, as in the case of Ireland, and as the necessity for doing so has arisen from the failure of the potato in that country, as also in the rest of Britain; it is therefore of some importance to prevent such a misfortune taking place, if possible.

Potatoes and
the Irish.

As the Irish labourer lives almost wholly on potatoes, and likewise his family, unless with a little butter-milk, and as they are a healthy, gay, prolific, and stout-hearted race, it must therefore follow that this root is almost of itself sufficient to support life, and that in a healthy condition, if it is taken in sufficient quantities, and which is very large in amount, to do so, we need no further proof than that of the people of Ireland. That such is the case few doubt, although some may say they have a pig. They may have one alive, but it is generally sold to pay the rent of their cabin and piece of ground.

Disease and
causes.

As to its cause, there have been many reasons given for the disease of the potatoes. Many were given at its first appearance three years ago, when they decayed after they were taken out of the ground, not while they were in the ground; the second year they were destroyed before they were taken out of the ground, and the third year (last year) they, in a great number of cases, did not fructify, or failed, or if they did, they never came to maturity, and what of them did so, soon spoiled after being taken up, or were so diseased as to render them unfit to be eaten, and were soon destroyed and wasted. Healthy potatoes, if put up wet, or exposed to wet, are liable to be destroyed, or to rot and waste. If you plant some of the potatoes that have been exposed to wet, or to severe frost, we will only say to wet, the potatoes that spring from these are liable to be unhealthy, or to fail, or are more likely to be destroyed by wet, when exposed to it in the ground, or when housed or pitted; they do not keep so long as if the parent stock had been healthy, and they are very waxy. Again, granting that these potatoes, derived from an unhealthy parent stock, live until the next seed-time, they are apt to produce no potatoes, or fail, as it is termed, or if they do produce, the product is very unhealthy, and will not keep.

Weather at
Planting.

If the season at which potatoes are planted, or the season of their planting is wet or cold, we shall say wet, as when there is wet there is cold,—at any rate, a wet season is worse than a cold season; if it is wet, the second generation is very likely not to produce any fruit, or give way; if there is much rain or wind, it is very apt to

destroy the branches and leaves of the potatoes; lightning may do the same; thus destroying a great source of the potato's nourishment, by which means the potatoes are destroyed. Now, we may prove it by an application of the same kind to man and the superior animals.

First, If a man be overwrought in his youth, he will not live to the same age as one who has not been so; or if he has been sub-
jected to wet, or much exposed in his youth, he will sooner turn old, and be unhealthy in his old age, and not live so long as if he had not been so exposed. By being so exposed in his youth, his frame has not had time to be matured as it would have been if he had reached his prime or majority, therefore every blast or exposure takes greater effect on him; whereas, if he had not been exposed until majority, or till his frame was in its full vigour, the exposures, hardships, and diseases which so easily affected and broke down his frame in his youth, would, if he had been exposed to them after, or at his majority, have passed over him unharmed, or if they did affect him, the effect would only have been transient, and not have taken a permanent hold of the system. A man who is fed only on vegetables, if exposed, does not live so long, and sooner breaks down and loses his strength than one who uses a certain portion of animal food. We may instance our Scotch ploughmen—they are a strong and healthy race in their youth, and they for the most part live on oatmeal, milk, and potatoes, at least the young unmarried men; but they break up and turn old sooner than those who live on animal food.

Potatoes planted and early exposed to wet or cold, are thus hurt before they are able to bear the blasts and wet, if these should come when they were nearly at maturity, and they would be easily destroyed, or, at the least, injured more readily, than when they had favourable weather to come away with after they were first planted, and by which they were strengthened. If not sufficiently dunged with manure of a good and nourishing kind, they are not so healthy and strong, and do not bear the weather so well as those that are well manured.

Second, Again, children born of such parents as are mentioned under the first head, have not the same strength as those born of healthy parents; they are not so well able to bear in their youth the blasts and diseases which the children of healthy parents are able to bear when disease comes on them, or whatever causes disease, such as wet, cold, want of food, &c.; it soon brings them to their grave, or leaves them sickly and unhealthy objects for life; and if they marry, they are childless, or if they have children, they are either still-born, or they die early or live sickly.

Seed from early-exposed or unhealthy potatoes, produce sickly and unhealthy potatoes, and very likely they fail, although at the time of planting the weather should be favourable; but if it should be wet, there is a greater chance of their failing; and if they do not fail at this time—if there should be wet throughout their growth, and even if it should not take place to a great extent until near the time of taking up, the wet destroys and rots them very easily, as they want the strength of healthy potatoes.

Again, the continually marrying and intermarrying with the

same family, is liable to produce a very degenerate and unhealthy offspring. In the same way, planting from the same potatoes in too many successions, is apt to cause disease of the potatoes, and failure the more readily, if there should be too much wet or cold at any time, but more particularly if it happen at the beginning, after they have been planted.

Children of old fathers and mothers, children of unhealthy parents, children of parents having intermarried too often, such are apt to be unhealthy; but such children, under favourable circumstances, may never shew any unfavourable symptoms; but their children after them being exposed, are liable to shew it; and suppose even they have escaped it, the seeds of disease being still in them, if they have children, such, if they are much exposed, the disease common to their family is likely, and may and does break out on them under such circumstances. Families liable to hereditary disease, as it is called, or families in whom a certain disease runs, ought not to marry, or they ought not to marry unless they are healthy; and in such a case, not until they are thirty, or at the least twenty-five in the case of males; in the case of females, twenty-five at the soonest. They ought not to marry with any of their own relations, however distant; the males ought only to marry healthy women, and they ought to be at the least twenty-one years of age; the females ought only to marry healthy males, and they should be at the least twenty-five years of age. If they carry out this principle for several generations, and take the usual means for preserving health, you or they may entirely eradicate the family disease.

In the same way, potatoes, to all appearance healthy, but not healthy at the bottom, will, if it is wet when planted, produce diseased potatoes, or no potatoes at all.

Old potatoes, or potatoes that have not been properly kept, or that have been diseased, are liable to be diseased and to fail, even in seasons favourable to their growth, how much more so are they if they have too much wet near the time of their digging up, and more at the middle of their growth, and still more so at their commencement.

Potatoes have never the same nourishment, flavour, &c. and healthiness, during wet seasons; as waxy potatoes are unhealthy to those who may eat them, and to the delicate.

Breeding of
horses.

Horses which have been early run at races, or overwrought, either early or late, are easily knocked up, and are unable to do so much work as those which have not been wrought or ridden so early; nor are such so good to breed with—their stock is never so good. It is quite common to use old mares for breeding, and very often when they are scarcely fit to do any thing but walk in the park; but this is a very erroneous and grievous mistake, as the stock which you get from such have never the vigour and the strength which the parent had when she was young, although in many cases they may look as well; and the breed which was so famous becomes weakly, sickly, and degenerated, although looking at the animal it did not appear so; but in breeding with this last you will find the breed greatly degenerated, although the horse may be strong and of a good stock.

There are many who castrate or cut horses too young, in which Castration of case they have not the strength, size, courage, and goodliness of horses. make or form which those that are cut later have, as if cut early, it to a certain extent stops the growth of the different parts; but if cut when near their full growth, all the parts are nearly fully formed, and go on forming and growing for a certain time after they are cut, and you have large, powerful, instead of small animals; but they ought to be cut before they have arrived at their full growth, so as to allow sufficient time for the animal to assimilate the different parts of its body to this great want while it is in a growing state; because if it were at its full growth, this requisite assimilating growth would not take place, and the animal would be in an unnatural, unsound, and defective state. Take a glance at eunuchs for a corroboration of this statement—beings far below the usual human race in intellect, size, as well as vigour.

We believe the late failures of the potato for the last three years to have arisen from too much wet and cold, as the potato seasons have been either at one time or other during their growth, and so causing disease in some cases, and on account of disease failure, and in other cases failure of the potatoes.

Wheat, oats, barley, and potatoes, if they have much wet or cold Growth of after sowing, the effect is to make them late of coming up above the grains. ground; and when they do come up, are slow in coming to any height if there is much rain, or if it is in a wet soil, by being late in the commencement, they are apt to be late in being cut down, and even then in an unripe state, as the sun is not strong at that time to ripen them, and are likely to get rain by being late in the season. The only remedy is draining, which may to a great extent prevent it, but not wholly; at any rate, crops under such an unfavourable beginning, are never so good as those which have a good season to start with. Now, if they have a bad beginning, and wet weather during their growth, they are still more liable to be bad, and less liable to bear after rains. If they had had refreshing showers and weather at their first being sown, and after they had come out of the ground, they would have been and are able to stand the wet and unfavourable weather afterwards. The seed of dry and favourable years is better for sowing than that of wet seasons, and is not so easily affected by rain; and the meal and flour, &c. that is made from them in dry seasons, is more nourishing, better flavoured, and more healthy for man and beast, than that of wet seasons. There are many and most farmers who say in wet years that they have good measure, although it has been a bad season, and better than last season, which was a favourable one, we need only say that, in a pecuniary point of view, most measure is best; but the nourishment between the two is not to be compared. Farmers also say in wet seasons, if the crop of hay happens to be abundant, they have a good crop, they cannot complain, only they did not get it in so well; in this case also they have quantity, but they do not know that the substance and nourishment is entirely gone out of their hay, or nearly so. If you expose a thin slice of beef to wet, or put it into water, or put it into the broth-kettle or pot, the meat loses its substance or nourishment, more or less, according to the time it is so exposed; if long enough, it loses it entirely

—it goes to the broth or soup, and the meat is swelled and looks larger, but it has lost all its nourishment, in the same way as hay so exposed. Potatoes boiled with the skins on are more nutritive, and have a better flavour, than those boiled without them, as the skins preserve them from being extracted of their nourishment; they are also drier. The best way to dry waxy potatoes is to keep them in a very dry place, and to roast or steam them for use.

Planting of
potatoes.

Potatoes planted during wet and cold weather may, although planted sound, fail, or be diseased or unhealthy, if there is much rain during their growth, and also if there should be much after they are ripe; and if they should be in this state, in such a case they are apt to rot, as they are also when they are housed; but if the potatoes come away well at the commencement, and there is little wet but that which is useful for their growth, they are less liable to be injured by after rains, or too much wet or cold, when they are ripe, and during the time of their lying in the ground, if prevented from being taken up by rain, and when taken up are not so liable to rot or to become diseased, as when there was much rain at their first planting or after it, or both; as, if they get a firm root in the ground at first and for the young roots, they are better able to bear all the after blasts and rains; but if they are sickly at first, future blasts and wet keep them always down and unhealthy.

The first year of the failure the planting season was cold and wet, and it was cold past May, and the end of the year when the potatoes were ripe was wet. The potatoes did not fail, the crop was abundant, but they were taken up wet and put in wet, and one began to rot here and there, and by contact they set the whole lot a-rotting. This was the first disease of the potatoes, and they must have been in a diseased and weak state before this could happen.

Next seed time came, the potatoes were planted from those of the last bad year, and diseased potatoes. The planting season was unfavourable; there were many wants this season, and during the middle of the season there were failures, and at the end of it they could not get them up on account of so much rain, and most of the potatoes were found rotten, at least many; and some were never taken up, as they thought it was not worth lifting them. All were not this way; many were good to the look, but did not keep long; but some which remained in the ground were preserved, and yielded next year, without farther planting, a good return,—a better one than those that had been housed and replanted. The winter was very mild and not wet, or the result would have been different, and the potatoes being whole was in their favour. We consider the wants and failure to have arisen from the diseased potatoes planted, and the bad and wet planting time to have easily affected them, as well as the wet weather at the end of the season, after they were ripe, rotting them, being easily affected, as they were of a sickly and unhealthy kind.

The third and last year was a very cold and wet planting season, and being planted with these diseased potatoes, they produced nothing, and when they did succeed, and although they had fine weather, yet from there being a good deal of wet about the end of the season, and being of a diseased kind, although they appeared for some time healthy, yet from being off diseased seeds and com-

ing away at first under unfavourable weather, as well as the wet at the end of the season, they entirely gave way before being taken up. There were exceptions. Potatoes and other vegetables, as well as man and beast, if exposed at planting, or in youth, and for some time afterwards, to cold or rain, are liable to be sickly, less healthy, and less nourishing ever after, although favourable weather and circumstances should prosper them, and when sown again are liable to reproduce unhealthy products, and more so, if in the planting and rearing of such there should be more rain and cold, in which case they are apt to fail in reproducing; and if they do not, any such reproduction is apt to be blighted by the smallest unfavourable circumstance that may arise in the shape of rain, or cold, or drought; but in the late disease and failure it was rain and cold, chiefly wet, as you may know from the last three or four seasons.

There are other cases of failure besides wet. Too dry a season, more especially at planting time, by being planted when they are not fully ripened. In the same way the marriage of the human race too early, gives rise to a weak unhealthy offspring, if any at all; and in the same way potatoes failing, and when they succeed, they are weakly, and those planted from such are liable to disease and failure. Frequent causes of failure.

By being too old they have lost their sap and nourishment, so that they cannot send forth branches or roots and leaves to nourish the young potatoes, from the juices being dried up, and if they do succeed, the potatoes are sickly, from being imperfectly nourished; as children who are imperfectly nourished in their youth, when they grow up are not so robust, large, and healthy, as those who have been healthy and well-cared for in their youth. Potatoes under such circumstances are likely to be small as well as diseased.

Potatoes that are brought from warm climates may succeed very well, if they get one or two warm and favourable seasons, and they thus get habituated to the climate; but if the season should be cold and wet, not to any great extent, they are likely to fail; whereas, if they had been brought from a cold climate, they would have thrived under the same adverse circumstances under which the warm climate potatoes failed. Being planted too often from the same stock, this is a frequent and common cause of failure and of disease with potatoes, even in favourable circumstances; and although there may not be failure or disease, they diminish in size almost to nothing. It is the same with the human race.

The remedies or preventives for such failures and diseases of the potato. Change the seed, or get seed from the apples of the diseased, but better still from healthy potatoes; in either it is quite sufficient. Plant the seed from the apples with great care; after being fully ripe take them up and preserve them with great care till the next seed time, and then plant them in a dry, warm, sheltered spot. Plant them whole, not cut into pieces; as in this case you get the whole nourishment and strength of the potato, without any loss of its juices, as is the case by cutting; and there is a greater loss of these if it is some time after being cut before they are put into the ground, or if there should be very hot dry weather Remedies to prevent failure.

after they are put in again. If it should be wet or cold, the skin round the whole of the potato keeps it warm and preserves it.

From the produce of these you can, by again keeping them carefully until next season, cut them in pieces and plant them, and they will be the same as a new and healthy race or breed, and will be healthy if the weather has been favourable. In the same way, and for the same reason, potatoes that have failed, and part of them that have been diseased, if the diseased ones are planted whole next season, if the weather is favourable, will grow and be healthy, as they have and require all their nourishment, which they have not when cut, and if it should rain or be cold at planting time, the skin will preserve them from it. This is the reason why some potatoes which were not lifted the season before last, but were allowed to remain in the ground, fructified next season, and had good crops, the winter being open, dry, and mild; but those which were taken up and housed, and cut and planted next season (the same season as the above, we may say the same diseased potatoes), they entirely failed, while there was a good crop of the whole potatoes.

To have an entirely new race, the pollen of one kind may be put on the flower of another, and the apples thus produced will give a new and improved seed, which may be planted like the other apple seed, and will bear a potato quite healthy and free from all disease.

A potato may become diseased by being too often planted on the same soil. To remedy this, a change of seed from a northern and hardy district will in most cases be found to answer very well, as lately there was not so much failure and disease in the north.

Draining for
Potatoes and
other pur-
poses.

For wet we would recommend draining, more especially in Ireland, where it is not so much in use. The potatoes will be very liable to failure and disease there, as they do not change their seed there, at least often enough, in which case, if not diseased, the potatoes are very small and very few at a plant. In damp and wet soils and climates, and where there is much rain, we would recommend the deep draining of Mr Smith. In dry soils, we would not recommend deep draining, as the moisture by draining in dry, light soils, soon evaporates, also that part of it which is below or underneath the drains, and most is carried off by the drains before the wet gets below; but in deep, damp, retentive soils, evaporation goes on slowly, when there is much rain and wet it sinks deep and remains long in the ground, and it is therefore requisite to drain deep in such cases, to get the moisture that is deep seated into the drains (in such a soil there ought to be small superficial drains besides, otherwise all the wet is not taken into the drains, but sinks into the ground, and afterwards evaporates), as the drains, if they were not deep, would only receive the surface water, and in retentive soils the moisture, when it once gets in, sinks deeply and evaporates slowly, and keeps the soil cold. The drains should not be so near as to take up all the moisture in dry soils, otherwise, if the season should be dry, the ground would be dried up, from draining and from surface evaporation, and will thus leave the ground parched. Since draining has been introduced, we will require more rain in dry seasons, and for dry light soils than we used to do; as, before,

the moisture sank deep into the soil and gradually evaporated and moistened the roots, but now it is not allowed to sink into the ground, but is carried off by drains, and we have lost that source of watering our fields; therefore, in dry and sandy soils, deep draining does injury, and, in dry seasons, in retentive, damp, and clayey soils, superficial draining does good to a certain extent, but deep draining is absolutely necessary. Drains need not be placed so close as some imagine, unless in very level ground; otherwise, in level ground, the moisture sinks into the ground, and does not all go into the drains. Again, in lands where there is a small inclination, if the drains are placed, at least some superficial drains, across the slope, and leading these into the deep drains, there will be no use for such a large number of deep drains as some would make; but by having the superficial drains, the water runs down into them, and most of the useless wet will be carried off before it sinks into the ground. The reason many have not succeeded with deep draining is, that they have not suited it to the proper soils; and the season may also have been too dry and their soil too dry, the crop has been a failure in comparison to that where there was no deep draining, and where the soil was moist, it at the same time being a dry season.

Some farmers have great fears that drains made at present will be unserviceable twenty years hence, and will require to be renewed, and that this will entail on them great expense; but we know, and have seen, drains twenty years old which are as good and serviceable as when first formed, and likely to last other twenty years or more. It is of great importance to the durability and economy of drains that the tile be well burnt and thick; this prevents breaking or wearing, and if the drains should be filled up or stopt by any means, they have only to be opened, and this is all the expense that is or will be incurred, no new tiles being required; and this is of some consequence where drain tiles have to be conveyed from a great distance. There are numbers who fear, or will not drain, on account of their believing that drains will only last twenty years; but such not being true, landlords or tenants will be less likely to grudge the expense of drains.

Drains for damp houses.—This is a cause of great annoyance and expense, many building their house anew, or selling it for nothing, or going to another. A cheap remedy, and a simple one, is found in sinking a deep well, at the back of the house, if it is on a slope, at say three or four yards from the house, and a deep and broad drain four yards from the back of the house, and bring it round and past the front of the house, about four yards distant from the sides of the house. Again, damp may arise from a spring within the walls of a house, or close to it; sink a deep well close to the house, and a large, deep, and broad drain all round the house, and carry it away from the house, and make a deep drain through the house, and it will prevent damp. All these may be tried at the same time, or singly, for this as well as damp situations. More than one well may be sunk at different places if necessary.

In conclusion, it need only be remarked, that it is a subject useful and interesting to all, and is one of national importance; and the only remedy that it is in the power of man to use, is always to have a constant supply of healthy potatoes from the seed of the apple,

Proper, durable, and least expensive Drain-Tile.

and to drain the land, if rain and damp should be there. There is no other remedy, if these two are not the great and principal assistants, for preventing the failure and disease of this tuber or root, the potato, more than bread, the staff of life of the people of Ireland.*

* Potatoes, when they are pitted, ought to be greatly separated, that is, have numerous divisions; as, in cases of disease, or from exposure to damp and the air, when the pit is opened all are liable to be infected.

RAILWAYS.

THERE has been a great commotion and outcry about travelling on Sundays by railways. This arose at their first introduction. It seemed at that time, and for some time afterwards, as if the clamourers, and even the majority, at least, so far as the directors were concerned, had allowed and gained the point that Sunday travelling was necessary and requisite, and that it was allowable to run trains on Sunday, very nearly in the same way as on other days of the week ; but of late this idea has been losing ground with the directors, or at least with the public, from whom the directors and shareholders take the initiative with regard to travelling or not on Sunday, at least in the way in which it is done on week-days ; or it may be from the shareholders, who are now of a more permanent nature than formerly, and likely to be more religiously inclined than the shareholders were at first, who had immense quantities of shares for the purpose of selling them again, and perhaps thought more of gaining and making a profit of Sunday travelling, as a means of assisting to shew a handsome dividend, than to the wants of the public and their religious welfare.

There has been a great noise made about Sunday travelling ; there have been many of the upper ranks who have joined in this controversy about its expediency or in expediency with regard to the public, or as to its being absolutely necessary, so that public wants of many kinds which are requisite and are required may be supplied by this mode of conveyance, without which it is impossible that they can be done. However, this controversy in favour of the necessity of general travelling on Sunday has not been supported by the example, previous to railways, of a majority or nearly that, or anything like it, of the wealthier and middling classes, who are not in the habit of travelling or making excursions on Sundays ; and if they do travel on Sundays, it must be something of great necessity that causes it to be done ; in fact there are many who delay their journey on Sunday, if they are on the road. We speak with regard to Scotland. No doubt, many Scotchmen are seen to travel on Sunday from London and elsewhere in steamboats ; but this is different from railways, as they do not fancy they are encroaching so much on the Sabbath by this mode of travelling or conveyance, as they can to a certain extent retire and follow their own mode of worship, or keep retired on this day, the same as if they

were at home, and can occupy themselves by reading the Scriptures, sermons, or other devotional and religious books, and in meditation, without being much interfered with or disturbed, and yet be proceeding on their journey, which their time requires they should do, but their religious exercises and retirement could not be performed in silence if on a railway.

Steamboats are the only species of travelling to which the people of Scotland are accustomed on Sundays, and this only from London to Aberdeen, Leith, and Dundee, or from Liverpool to Glasgow, and the number is very small that can travel by these different ways. The greatest outcry has come, it has been said, from a sympathetic feeling and regard for the lower and working classes, as it is necessary to allow their getting an opportunity of going and seeing their friends on a Sunday, as well as to view different towns, places, and sights; and this outcry for their benefit has originated in the notion that Sunday is the only day in which they are unoccupied, and which they can spare from their labour, any other day being necessary for their labour, by which they support their families. (How did they formerly travel?) It has been thought that Railways should be run for their benefit, but we will shew that so far as they are concerned, that this assistance or benefit in their behalf is something entirely new to them; it is a newly created benefit, and is not a want, but is a luxury, which was not previously required in any shape for their use, and which was not used by them in any shape.

Travelling by
horses in
Scotland on
Sunday.

The travelling in Scotland by horses, and vehicles drawn by horses, was never great in Scotland. We may say there never was any Sunday travelling in Scotland of any kind, unless some years back, when it was common to travel to hear some famous divine, or to attend the sacraments at a distance from their own places, but it was oftener on foot than by any description of conveyance.

Those who are in affluent circumstances use carriages on Sundays to carry themselves and families to church. Farmers, and those in the country, do the same, and will continue to do the same, although there are railways, as the horses are their own private property; however, it is with regard to public conveyances for Sunday travelling, so far as they are concerned, they will not be required, or rather necessary. The mails were the only public conveyances for travelling for all ranks of Scotland on Sundays, and they were very few; and all the passengers that they could carry on Sundays would not amount to more than a thousand or two, and this at the most. The travellers by this conveyance generally travel a long distance, and not for short distances. Some may be filled with the same passengers all the way from London to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Inverness; and therefore all the districts through which the mails passed to these places, there might be no accommodation to the public on Sunday; at other times for not above half a hundred; and we may say that, as a means of accommodating the public, they were of no use; and if they had, the periods or the time of the day at which they arrived at some and many, if not most of the places, would make them too late or too early, or too late to suit the purposes of any on Sunday. Therefore for the whole of Scotland there might have been said to be no conveyance

for the public on Sunday, as the stage-coaches and steam-boats do not go on Sundays. There may be an exception, or there was one, but such was very rare in Scotland.

So far as public conveyances (on Sunday) are a right of the people, and being thought to be so from the railways being allowed by them to be set a-going instead of stage-coaches, mails, &c. we do not see that they have any public claim to there being railway carriages employed in the same way on Sunday as on the other days of the week. The public have claimed it as a right; but so far as any old right was taken away from them, such is not the case in Scotland, as has been shewn, from there having been no public conveyances on Sunday before there were railways.

The chief reason for not encouraging regular railway travelling on Sunday has been the desecration and profanation of the Sabbath day, and its irreligious tendency on such a day, and the liability to break in on the morals, as well as the chance of their losing the opportunity of improving the morals and religious feelings of the people of Scotland, for which they have been so eminent. A general irreligious feeling, instead of a religious feeling, which they have as a body, is likely to arise from general Sunday travelling, and to which they have never been accustomed, and which they never have had the means of employing. We speak principally of the middle and the working-classes. The higher ranks do travel at certain times more than others; for instance, in the autumn and about the New Year. At these times, amongst the higher ranks, there is more travelling on Sundays than at other times; but even at these times, unless Christmas or New Year's Day is near, or at the beginning of the week, there is not a very great deal of Sunday travelling. In the autumn there is some travelling on the Sundays by the higher ranks, but it is in their own carriages, and by posting, and it is not of very frequent occurrence, when we take into account how many travel on the other days of the week, in comparison. However, this chance of travelling by posting it, as it is termed, must be lost on Sundays, if the railways have the effect of doing away with horses and vehicles on old frequented but little peopled roads, which is the case throughout the whole of Scotland, and there is no doubt that will cause them to be withdrawn; and therefore it is necessary that a substitute must be given for this purpose. This is very true, but it does not require so much traffic and running of railway carriages as some, and most at one time wished, as such travelling is not very common; but that it exists no one can deny, and also that it will be stopped by railways.

We may here shew how very little travelling by horses and carriages there is in most of the towns of Scotland. We may state, and give the number of horses in a manufacturing town which we are acquainted with; and it is in such towns where there is likely and ought to be most Sunday travelling.

We are acquainted intimately with several such manufacturing towns, and we will mention one with twelve thousand inhabitants, and public works of all kinds. There are not more horses in this town for gigs, chaises, and such like vehicles, as would carry and convey 50 or 60, or at the most 100, inhabitants. We give this merely to shew how very few travel by carriages on Sundays; and

there are no towns with horses for public hire, taking them (the horses) for the twelve miles round, or say six, there are not more horses than would carry thirty people at the most, for hire for twelve miles round, or six at the least. Three-fourths of the horses of this town might be withdrawn, by railways going close by or through the town; yet frequently on Sunday, although no railroad passes near the town, none of these horses are required for Sunday travelling, and almost never the whole of them; and there may be some Sundays when six of these horses may only convey as many people, and that for two or three miles to church and back. Say there are twelve or fourteen more available horses in the town, with twelve thousand inhabitants, these at the most carry five or six people each—now say they were all employed on Sunday, and that each horse carried four persons, it would be a very small portion of a population of twelve thousand inhabitants—it could scarcely be called Sunday travelling; but we know that on an average the horses employed on each Sunday during the year, do not convey above twenty persons. This is the very highest average, yet it shews they are required. We know a town of five or six thousand inhabitants—it is a seaport, but has no other traffic but shipping, of which the chief article is coal. In this town there is only one available horse, and at the most two, which are kept publicly for hire, and it is very rarely they are used on Sunday, but they are sometimes employed on Sunday. From this travelling, it can scarcely be called such, or that it was necessary for railways to supply the wants of the public for Sunday travelling, it might be supposed those who hired these horses were the wealthier inhabitants; it is not generally such, as they do not travel on Sundays in this case—it is principally shopmen and such who use them; and how do the rest of the population of this and other towns manage to travel on Sundays if all these horses are hired, and can only convey so small a proportion of the population, which amounts to so much? We never heard of any complaint being made unless on what is called the Fast-day or day of Thanksgiving, set apart by the Church of Scotland on the Thursday, twice a-year at the Sacraments, as a preparation for that solemn ordinance. On this day many who would not travel on Sunday take an excursion, as it is not held throughout Scotland on the same week of the year, but when it suits the different parishes; but this not being Sunday, although bearing a strong resemblance to it, no one can, in a scriptural point of view, object to travelling on this day as breaking the Sabbath; we only mention it as bearing a strong resemblance to Sunday, and as the only day on which it is probable for all these and a great many more horses being used on this day; besides, there are stage-coaches, steam-boats, &c. going from the towns where these fast-days are kept, and of course the railways will carry on their traffic as usual; but really people should not make so great a noise about the great wants arising to the community at large about frequent conveyance on the Lord's-day at all hours, when it is so well known that they never had it, nor ever required it, before railways were set a-going. Now, it has been said that the railways will cause these horses to be withdrawn, and if a person requires a horse for any particular purpose, to visit a sick friend, or to send for medical assistance, he

will not get it. We suppose, although there were no railway trains on Sunday, this might be done in the neighbourhood of towns, as in most places there will always be horses and vehicles to go three or four, or six, or more miles distant, as they will always be required for such small distances, however near railroads may be to towns; and gentlemen will always keep carriages, and horses, and gigs, &c. as being always at hand, and as railway hours may not suit.

As to the mass of the people, or the working-classes, how do they at present travel? In some cases a family may take a cart on Sunday, and go a few miles into the country to visit their friends; but really, in a town with 12,000 inhabitants, the number of carts on any Sunday, taking the yearly average, does not amount to more than half-a-dozen, or eight at the most. This is not great Sunday travelling; and all the rest, if they travel, and those who break and profane the Sabbath, and make it a travelling day, they walk as their fathers did before them, and could not afford to do it, and never think of travelling any other way; and even these, in this and several other towns that we know, are not a large body either, so it cannot be demanded for them to get Sunday travelling accommodation as a right, and as a right which has been taken from them by railways being started, and which right must be replaced to them. They may walk, at the average, about eight or ten miles a-day.

All the horses, and more than are at present in use on Sundays, will still be required, although railways come near such towns.

Just take a look at Edinburgh: How very little travelling is Edinburgh on going on there on Sunday, and how very few vehicles, when we Sunday. take into account the size of the town or not. Really, when one looks into it, there has been too great and useless an outcry about the ill usage and wrong the community are likely to suffer by want of regular Sunday trains; because public conveyances will be given up which never existed in Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Scotland, except the mails; and with more reason, that all the horses would be withdrawn, of which there are plenty. But there will always be plenty. The mails were the only public conveyances which ran on Sunday between Edinburgh and Glasgow. The private conveyances were always few, and nobody ever felt or complained of the want of public conveyances in Edinburgh on Sunday. There will always be more horses for private conveyances on Sunday, or any other day of the week, than ever there were, on account of the many railways passing through it, and thus causing a greater influx of strangers who visit the town, and require to be conveyed through it by the city vehicles, as hackney-coaches, omnibuses, &c., and this will give rise to an increase of horses on the coach-stands of Edinburgh. There are fewer vehicles allowed and required on Sunday than on the other days of the week; but if railways were to be run in a wholesale manner on Sunday, there would be a very great increase of these on Sunday to accommodate strangers, as well as to convey the town's-people to the different railway stations, as well as from them. It would cause a great stir, and bustle, and noise about the streets, which is not usual to Edinburgh on Sunday, which is proverbial for its stillness and quietness on Sunday, and

it would make the stir and noise more perceptible, from the terminations of all the railways being in the most central and public part of the town, and the city vehicles enter it at one of the principal streets, namely, at the most busy part of Princes Street, into which all the other principal streets lead.

Why trains
are necessary.

The only and the true reason for having a Sunday train is, that the places on the Glasgow and other roads where horses used to be kept, will not keep them now; so that those who wish or require to travel to Glasgow or elsewhere on Sunday, as there always was and will continue to be some who will travel there on Sunday; and as one horse is not sufficient to carry them through the whole way, they will not be able to undertake the journey; and as they may also require to come back the same day, which will not be easy to accomplish, unless at very great inconvenience and expense. It is the want of horses on the road which causes the necessity of a morning and evening train. Sometimes medical assistance has to be sent for to Edinburgh from all parts of the country for thirty or forty or more miles distant from Edinburgh. As it may happen that this assistance may be required where there are no horses, and where there were horses and vehicles kept before railways were set agoing, an express engine may be required on Sunday, and also for other cases of emergency that may arise. In such cases, companies will be obliged to give them, and keep them always ready, and they will require to give them, and at a reasonable price, and the cases of necessity ought to be laid down by directors, in order that they may not be used for purposes other than those where they are absolutely required. If it were otherwise, it would be asked where there was no necessity for it, and so many would apply for them, that it would cause a greater bustle and stir at the stations, and on the railways, than several large trains a-day; and this being the case, instead of there only being a morning and evening train, there would be another in the middle of the day, so that those who wished expresses would require to wait until that time, which not being so long to wait as evening, would answer the purpose. Such would be the effect of the abuse of the express, and other circumstances might happen which might cause more trains to be used, till at last they became a necessity from custom, not from want, and Sunday would have as many trains as on other days. The only plan is to check it at first. If some did not get an express in certain urgent cases, it would be too long to wait until evening; and we strongly suspect, if the public once get a morning and evening train, they will be for one in the middle of the day. The more they get the more they would have. Where a case for an express is not urgent, they must wait, and make the morning and evening trains suit them. They must suit themselves to the trains, and not the trains to them, as they cannot suit every one, but by these hours they will answer most, and for the most of purposes.

Urgent cases
for travelling.

There is no doubt there is travelling to a certain extent, and has been from time immemorial, by some, more or less, and there are many urgent cases requiring travelling on Sunday, and this cannot be performed since railways were started, which were sanctioned by the public, as they would be a substitute for roads and carriages and horses on these; and if they had known that they

would have lost this opportunity of travelling, they might have opposed lines, and might have kept them from being made, as such a necessity for travelling is required, and has always been used to a certain extent, and to this extent must it be supplied to the public as a right which has been taken from them; and railways have also been got up at the expense of the roads, most of which beside are deeply in debt; and many who have lent them money, and they are not few, on the security of the revenues likely to arise from them, have lost the principal or any interest from railways being constructed in opposition to them, and it is but right that the public have trains at least morning and evening, to supply public necessities that may be required, and which have always been required. We do not approve of Sunday public travelling in a wholesale regular way, but there is a necessity for it once a-day, and this is more than is at present requisite for public necessity, and the law ought to restrict it to this, to prevent the profanation of the Sabbath; the fares ought to be higher on this day than usual, yet as moderate as they could get vehicles before railways were started, which was not very moderate, as it was only by having private vehicles. By doing this the public will have no reason to complain, and if it is urgent, they will get accommodation and travelling better, as cheap, and more expeditious and regular than they got it before. This high price of the fares will prevent the great crowds from travelling, as they would do if too cheap, as if immense crowds go, many railways will gradually increase the number of trains, and will reduce the fares more than on other days, to make a profit by them to assist to pay a bad speculation, and it will be done under pretence of serving the public, and to remedy a public necessity. But the Legislature ought to prevent this as a means of preserving public order, and in keeping the population quiet, by making them more moral, and thus preserving peace and quiet, and the easier and better rules and government of the nation, and by this means the expense of the nation.

Trains ought to be early in the morning, and ought to arrive at their destination a couple of hours before church time, in order not to disturb the Sunday sanctity and quiet of the place, and not to attract the attention of the church-goers. The evening train ought to start late in the afternoon, or very early in the evening, say nearer five than four o'clock, in order to allow the churches to be emptied, and those attending to go home; if earlier, they might otherwise wait to see their departure, but having so long to wait, they go away. It is also in the evening that those who come and are going away by the rail, are likely to meet with their friends, and perhaps drink to excess, or take a parting cup, which leads to more, if they have nothing else to do, to prevent time hanging heavily on their hands. They will not be so likely to do it if early, and there will not be such a chance of rioting and noise when it is light as during darkness, when they will not be ashamed to do it, and the town will be early cleared of such, as they are more ready to get uproarious in a strange place. Such times of running no one can complain of—it is more than the public wants require; but they require them to a certain extent. We suppose the Legislature has a right to demand them, as well as to limit them as a means of

Regulating
the time of
trains and
their number
on Sunday
will prevent
Sunday desecration.

preserving the easier and better government, and quiet and protection of the country; and all must find it convenient at the hours stated for all purposes of Sunday travelling that any have been accustomed to; and knowing such to be the case, they must suit their business, if it is so, to the time of the trains. The higher fares are as cheap as they used to pay, and the speed is far beyond what they ever experienced or heard of, as well as the public conveniency being beyond what they ever had in Scotland.

The right of
the nation to
Sunday trains.

There can be no doubt the people of Scotland have a right to a morning and evening train, and can demand it from the Legislature, as there is travelling, however little, on Sunday, and has always been, and that from necessity; and that since railways have been constructed, they cannot get this done, as horses, and vehicles, and mails, are now withdrawn from roads where they were to be had since railways were used, and the railways are bound to supply this want, as they were permitted to be constructed, and that at the expense, and to the great damage and injury, of an immense body of the people, who lent money on the roads throughout the whole kingdom, which was lost by the formation of railroads, and many have been impoverished by it.

The only way to prevent Sabbath profanation is to restrict travelling to two trains, and to raise the fares on Sunday, and to regulate the hours of running so as to prevent it from giving an opportunity for pleasure, but that those who really require it will receive it thankfully, and it will suit their purpose, and they will also pay for the inconveniency without reluctance, if it is a case of necessity; and this is the only way to prevent the profanation of the Sabbath, and destruction of the general morality of the people, and by this the private morality which leads to a true observance of the Sabbath; and at the same time it is necessary, and it is more than sufficient to satisfy and fulfil a public want and right. Allow no intoxicating liquors to be sold on Sunday, and diminish the number of public-houses, and you will prevent Sunday desecration better than by any other means, and shut public-houses at ten o'clock on Sunday evening, and no one can object.

Public libraries. All know the great importance of these as a source of personal as well as of public good. But all are not equally aware of the great value of public reading-rooms, with newspapers and magazines, as an amusement to the young in the evening who may have a little idle time, and who, not having a place to go to amuse themselves, are apt to frequent taverns, &c. and thus to go on from bad to worse; but having a news-room to go to, they do not go to haunts of dissipation and vice, begun at first merely to pass the time, but at length from a love of them. They are of great use to students who have no friends in large towns, as well as to strangers visiting towns, who frequently do not know what to make of themselves in an evening, and they ought to be encouraged and supported by all.

Uses of Rail-
ways.

Railways are useful as being a quicker and more certain means of getting and receiving communication, and are a means of civilizing and improving remote districts, and giving more useful and refined ideas, and better ways of improving themselves and their circumstances, and are also a means of improving them in morality

and knowledge, and are a better means of preserving order in such remote and distant districts, and give a readier egress for articles of production; and thus they have a better opportunity of improving themselves and the soil, and drawing from it a greater abundance, as well as getting from other parts products which are useful but not common to them, and sending such to others. They are thus a means of giving labour to many, and enriching and improving the circumstances of many who would otherwise be kept down and poor, although in the bosom of wealth of their own, if it had not been for railways. They are a means of rapid communication and improvement to distant parts of the kingdom. It is therefore right that railways should be constructed on the cheapest and most economical plan that is possible, and yet with so much permanency and stability as is necessary for their preservation, and the safety of those who may be upon them. There are many ways in which this may be done if means could be found to effect it. We may give an example where an immense expense is caused, and where an immense saving might be made, and this arises from curves of a small size not being very easily passed over at a rapid speed by carriages without their coming off the line, or being upset. Railways are therefore constructed in straight lines; when they are not, they are made with very large curves, which allows of the carriages accommodating themselves to the round or bend without going off the rail. If they could work them at a high speed with small curves, it would often save immense sums, by taking a round instead of having to make a deep cut through a hill to form a straight line. It would also save the necessity of filling up a hollow or a ravine, and also the building of immense viaducts and bridges, and what has been attended with immense expense and delay from law-suits as well as in its purchase, that is, the right to pass through gentlemen's grounds, parks, and estates, whereas a small curve might have saved all this; also from its being necessary to pass through the centre or expensive parts of towns, to form a straight line, and to prevent a curve or bend. Thus the purchase of houses, and the cost of bridges, has cost immense sums, and the expense of railways has been much raised, and the profits, on this account, have been very small, if any; and perhaps the expense from straight lines and law-suits, and purchases consequent on these, has been nearly the ruin of many railways, and they have been constructed in a very superficial manner, from expenses caused before constructing them. Any one who could overcome this difficulty of passing with safety curves of a small size, would greatly benefit the country. We do not see the necessity of passing through towns. A large curve might be made, and thus avoid the town, and the carriage or train which is going to stop at any rate at the town, might easily go slower at this curve, and also on leaving the town, and this would cause a great saving in expense, and very little diminution in time.

Means to prevent the expensiveness of railways.

We suppose this difficulty of curves might be managed by those better acquainted with railways than we are. From what we know of them ourselves, we think the remedy might be effected by the construction of the wheels and the axles, by regulating and altering the movement of these on railways. An apparatus might be

made to render them moveable at curves, and fast when they have passed them.

The cause of carriages going off is, that the hind-wheels always keep the same straight line with the front-wheels either in going on a curve or on a straight line, and as both the front and hind-wheels move in a straight line without moving to the right or left, —a curve not being a straight line—if very small, or much off the straight line, the wheels keeping a straight course, the hind-wheels at a curve must necessarily come off the curved rail to keep the straight line, and this happens more readily if the pace is quick at which the carriage is going, and also more so the more distant the front-wheels are from the hind, and the smaller the size of the curve.

Wheels for
small curves.

If the hind wheels had a very little accommodating movement off the straight line of the front wheel, or if the front wheel had it, the wheel would accommodate itself to the curve, and would not go off. We see this movement on the front-wheels of a post-chaise, which move off the straight line of the hind-wheels to either side, and are not in a straight line with the hind-wheels, which have no lateral movement in turning a corner suddenly, or taking it too sharp. If the front and back wheels were put on without this lateral accommodating movement, like the wheels of a two-wheeled cart, it would be impossible to turn a corner without upsetting; for instance, a narrow street corner—the narrower so much the worse—and the farther distant the hind-wheels from the front, the more likely to be upset.

If railway carriages had on their wheels, either the front or hind ones, a very little of this lateral accommodating movement, not more than just sufficient to pass the smallest curve on the line, too much would do harm, they might then pass a small curve, and that at a quick pace. They might have an apparatus to fix and keep this lateral movement in a straight line with the hind or front wheels, when not on or at a curve; and when they are, they may get the lateral motion. The apparatus might be constructed to give this lateral movement to any extent from the largest to the smallest curve; but such apparatuses are apt to go wrong, and the simpler and less complicated, and the more single in their movements, the less chance of accidents from their going wrong. We suppose, that if they had no more than the exact lateral movement for the smallest curve on the line, without such apparatus, it would be better.

Railway
carriage.

A carriage on two carriages, with four wheels each, such as is seen in America, and which is got up because they contain more passengers; as the Americans are not a solitary and lonely race, and like to herd together in large bodies, they have constructed a carriage for this purpose, from its being very economical; and this carriage is placed on two carriages or trucks on four wheels each. Such a carriage being on two carriages, with the wheels near to one another, we think this carriage would pass a smaller curve than those generally used at a quick pace without going off the rail; as the first being small, the other being as it were a separate carriage, accommodates itself to the curve, and is yet one carriage.

If the train is dragged, the lateral movement should be on the front wheel ; if pushed, it might go off the line from its not being steady. This lateral accommodating movement ought to be no more than just sufficient to pass the smallest curve on the line at a good pace with safety.

These American carriages being used to hold large numbers, are also easily and cheaply constructed, more so than two carriages, and they hold as many or more, and are to be recommended for the sake of economy.

There have been many and numerous complaints with regard to Accommodation and prices the accommodation and the price of railway carriages, that is, the fares of the third class. It is very curious that the religious controversy, and the frequent discussion of this, should be brought forward in favour of the third-class passengers, and yet without there being any grounds for their complaining, or as a matter of right ; at all events none, not the slightest shadow of complaint, with regard to the accommodation and the fares. at different times.

As to the accommodation at the first formation of the railways, it was only intended to make first and second class carriages. At length it was suggested that there should be a third-class for the benefit of the very poor, and at a cheaper rate than the second-class. This was considered at the time to be a very great favour to this class, and was not considered by the company to be in their own favour, and not much profit was expected from it. It was a favour, as those for whom it was intended, who had no conveyances unless a carrier's cart, or any stray or chance vehicle, or their feet, it was a mere matter of chance that they got a return chaise or gig, and when it was certain, as in a carrier's cart, the journey was slow and tedious, and even the chance of a ride was uncertain, as the cart might be overloaded ; but instead of walking on their feet, or the chance of a return vehicle, or a carrier's cart, they got a railway carriage, going at a great speed, for a very small sum, and all were satisfied, both with the accommodation and the price, which was thought to be moderate—the companies only doubting it, thinking it too low. As usual in such cases, where they see others more comfortable than themselves, and found out the reason of it, the railway carriages for the third-class having no seats, they wished for seats. No doubt it is rather tiresome standing for hours, but there were many who ought to have been in the second-class, who took their carpet-bags with them, and were very thankful to get the third-class without seats, except their carpet-bags, on account of the cheap fares. However, there arose great sympathy in the public mind about the barbarity of companies compelling passengers to stand, and they raised such a clamour about the cruelty to the poor, that the third-class at length got seats ; but this sympathy arose from those who ought, and were able to pay, some for the first-class, and most for the second-class ; it was done for their own comfort, as often happens, although in the name of the poor. The third-class was kept for a long time without seats, to prevent these second-class gents from going into them ; but this not having the effect, at length they got seats, and they thought and believed that they were really better off than the second-class passengers, and would not have exchanged seats with them ; however, it happened

to rain, as it sometimes does, and they found out somehow that the second-class had roofs and shelter to protect them, and also, in blowy weather, dust, ashes, and smoke came blowing into their eyes, which is disagreeable, and gave rise to railway eye-protectors; but it was the rain and cold that led to the desire to get a roof. They made out a case of great cruelty and injury that would arise to the poor from such inhuman exposure, and they said it would not cost much, and a great many more reasons, always mixed with sympathy for the poor, and pleading for them, and not themselves, they at last got a roof to the third-class; but so far as the poor had any right to it, or any excuse to get it, they had none, either for a third-class conveyance with a seat, or with a roof, as few if almost any ever went by any other conveyance than a cart, or a steam-boat if they were near water. There was no protection on the cart, and they never went on the top of a stage-coach, where the highest of the land are or were thankful to get on, on a windy, rainy, and cold day, without a roof, and would have paid more for a seat rather than be left behind; yet no one complained of the want of a roof, and such was scarcely ever heard to be thought of. There were in Scotland two or three coaches at the most, which had a kind of hood at the back for three or four passengers, but the rest had no shelter, and did not complain of the want of it as cruelty on the part of the proprietors, but only from the disagreeable sensations they felt from the weather, but never fancying to get a roof, so it could not be with any show of reason that the rich third-class could complain. Those who ought to have been in the first or second class could not complain for the poor or themselves, but they at length got roofs, and thought that nothing more was wanted, or could be better, which was true, as they were far superior to the top of stage-coaches, in point of comfort, in a wet day, on which all ranks of the land sat without complaint, and in point of speed were greatly superior, and also in point of price there was no comparison with the fares of stage-coaches and the low fares of railway carriages; but even with this lowness of the fares with which they were so long content, they were not content now, but for the benefit of the poor they pleaded for still lower fares, and cried out about the enormous profits that were realized by companies from third-class passengers and themselves. At length they got the fares so reduced that all at the present day are astonished at the cheapness, and wondering how they can afford to do it so low—shortly they may be lower; but they were not content with all this—railway carriages of the third-class did not go so often as the first and second classes, but often enough, and oftener than was necessary for those for whom they were intended. At length they got them to go oftener, and at a greater speed than first-classes went at first. At one time they were frequently delayed by making stoppages, and also they went with slower trains, which conveyed goods, but the fares were cheaper on that account, but now they have them at certain times of the day, with the most expeditious trains. Such is the way of the world—people are never content, the more you give them the more will they have; and as in this case it is under a pretended sympathy for the lower ranks, but it happens in this case as in many others, that their own interest happened to be situated in

the same place that the others were placed in, who did not require or wish for their sympathy, but they were a lucky excuse for their own delicacy and benefit. We have no doubt if the real third-class had wished, and had got in on wet days to second-class carriages, with work-clothes, at a lower fare than the real second-class, there would have been no sympathy, but an outcry about making them keep their own places, for which they ought to be very thankful, and which was better than they had a right to expect.

Railway companies are frequently got up and formed and passed with no more funds than are barely sufficient to finish them in an imperfect manner. Bridges and other works are reported by engineers as perfect, when they are not so. No one, if taken to examine them, could really say they were not perfect; but it has been shewn, by floods carrying away and destroying bridges and other works, that such were imperfect, and had been got up in a very superficial and dangerous manner; and this had arisen from there being no more than sufficient, from want of funds, to give them real stability; and they did them this way, expecting that they might fit them up, and that they would last until they got funds from the traffic that was expected, which would allow them to build and repair them in a stable and permanent and secure manner. Other bridges we see constructed and fitted in an imperfect manner, and these surveyed and considered perfect and secure by first-rate engineers; and even constructed and planned by these, and approved of by others, and where money and materials of the best kind were in abundance, yet they have given way; so that we need not wonder at them giving way where the capital of a line is barely sufficient to construct the line, it only shews the necessity of looking closer into such railways, to see that the materials and work are good, in order to prevent destruction of life to those who travel on them.

The destroying of a bridge, or of any of the works of a railway, at any part of the line where there are no horses or much population, may cause serious loss to many, both of life and property, from the delay caused to communications of different kinds. This is another reason for having the works of railways in a strong and perfect condition. Railway companies ought to have horses along certain portions of their line, to get another train when such accidents or delays arise to prevent the engine and train getting on, as the delay of less than half an hour may be attended with great loss to some. And this is very necessary, as the delay of a quarter of an hour or less may in many cases plunge into eternity a life which might be otherwise saved; as a delay in the case of a person going to be hanged getting a reprieve, or an order to save his life and change the sentence to transportation, and the reprieve might not be got in time; by any petition, or favourable circumstances connected with the case, which were to be sent to the proper authorities in London, being delayed a short time, and not reaching the proper quarter in time to get back before the final sentence of the law had been executed; or it might be, that either by letter or by person, evidence in favour of a person's innocence had been got and was known, as perhaps the crime committed might have been done by accident, and a person might have perhaps seen it or known it,

Superficial
getting up
and conse-
quent danger
of railways.

Evil effects of
delay on rail-
ways.

Example in
saving life.

and might have been the only person who could prove that it was such, and by his single evidence shew the prisoner's innocence, and might, from seeing it at the time, know that it was accidental, or done to preserve his own life, as in self-defence; he might only see the beginning of the attack, and see the prisoner was first attacked, and being in a hurry, or at a distance, might go away and think no more of it, until, by a newspaper, he might read the circumstances, and might know for the first time that one of the persons had been killed, namely, the one who had first attacked the other, and he might by the account distinguish this, and see that the innocent person was to be hung, and find that he was only in time to get to the place of execution to save the individual; by a delay, however small, in such a case, a life might be lost. Or it might be a quarrel, and seen by any one, and the innocent person might have been proved guilty by a person seeing that he was the aggressor, or the person who first attacked the individual who was killed, and went away seeing no more than the first attack, and on this evidence the wrong person was to be hanged; but it might happen that another person, a little later, might be in time to see the person who first attacked the murdered person getting the worst of the fight, trying to escape, but not being able, in despair for his life renewed the fight, and killed his opponent. At the time at which this renewal took place, it might appear to the person viewing it to be only a simple quarrel, and not likely to be attended with bloodshed or murder, and the murder might happen after he was gone. But having seen the attempt, and perhaps desire and entreaty for the killed person to desist, by the person who first attacked the other, and who wished to desist from attacking, and at last, in self-defence, murdered, or rather killed, the individual. By being seen at the time he was desirous to desist, the person's evidence who saw this was sufficient to cause his acquittal of murder; but by going away before the murder or death, he did not know of the death or trial until he saw it in the newspapers, when just in time to travel to the place of execution to stop it. Any delay in such a case would allow of the innocent person being hung and plunged into eternity;—thus shewing the great necessity for having railways strong and perfect in all their parts, and the construction of such a permanent and sufficient nature as to allow of no delay arising from their easily giving way, and being easily destroyed, and soon going to decay, from their being constructed in a negligent way, or in a superficial, but to all appearance perfect and sufficient manner, from want of funds, which is very often the case. But there are points of daily occurrence which affect all, and at all hours and seasons, and which touches them personally, and doing so, they are more interested to prevent such delays occurring at the present time. When so many failures are taking place from the fluctuating and uncertain state of the grain market, an individual might be ruined by a short delay in a train coming in too late to give him intelligence of the state of the grain market. For instance, a person might have a friend in London who had secret intelligence that there was to be a fall of a small amount on the price of grain, and knowing that his friend's large stock would not allow of this fall, although small, without ruining him, he has a knowledge of this fall going to take place a

Example in
the grain
market.

day or an hour before any other person, he sends to his friend notice of it; but by an hour's delay, or less, he loses the opportunity of selling off his stock to different persons at even a higher sum than that before there was a delay, but did not sell it, as he expected a still further rise instead of a fall in the price; but by the fall he and his family are ruined, as the intelligence of the intended fall for his private ear has come too late for him to sell his grain before the same news has been spread over the whole country. Or the intelligence might be that the harvest abroad was, or was likely to be, abundant; this would bring down prices, and a delay of this news might ruin many. Another, and many, might make a very handsome profit and gain by intelligence that the harvest abroad was not abundant, that the crops were likely to be a failure, they might buy up grain at a cheap rate in this country, and keep it and that which they might have, and sell it during the spring and summer at a high profit; but the intelligence being delayed, and there being an appearance of plenty, they sell what grain they had at a moderate price, and do not buy any at a cheap rate, and when they get their information, which has been delayed, every one has got it as well as themselves, and they cannot buy at a cheap price, and this has been caused by the delay of the railway carriage.

Or we may take the money-market. Any rise or fall in the funds by intelligence coming too late, a person by knowing any of the numerous circumstances which cause a rise or fall in the funds would sell or buy according as these circumstances were in favour of a rise or fall; for instance, by getting notice that there was likely to be a good harvest abroad, and much grain was likely to be imported, and that there would be no exports; this would, in the present state of the country, produce a fall in the funds, and any one knowing this would sell out immediately to save the fall. Or he might be going to buy in; of course he would sell out of some other stock in time to buy when the funds were low; but not having this intelligence, he does not sell other stock in time, and he has not money to buy in. When, perhaps, he does sell stock, it is too late, as there has been a rise.

For instance, a person at the present time is likely to sell if there was the prospect of a war, as at the present time the funds would fall; but if there were to be no war, the funds might rise, as the Government might, in this last case, have plenty of money and to spare, and were likely to buy into the funds, and thus raise the market, more especially if the funds were low, and of course, according to your intelligence, you would buy or sell accordingly; but not hearing that war had been declared, and intending to sell out, and being obliged to sell out, you get your intelligence too late, and every one knows, and the funds are down, and you have to sell out and lose by it; or it might only be a report that war had been declared, but if you had got intelligence intended for you that it was such, you might not have sold out to save the fall, but have waited to take advantage of the gradual rise that was taking place before the report, and then you would sell out to advantage, and might save yourself from ruin in one case, or make a fortune in the other.

When the Government has plenty of money to spare, there is

generally a rise in the funds; such at least is their tendency. If they do not rise, they become stationary, and no one sells out who can help it. If the funds are low in the expectation of Government becoming purchasers in their own name, or in that of others, or if the Government are likely to give a loan, or to give away a large sum of money, as in the case of Ireland, there is little chance of their being purchasers, and the funds, if on the fall, do not rise, or become stationary, but keep their downward course. Now intelligence of this may depend on the Parliament giving a vote to this effect. By getting quick intelligence of such a vote being given, you may wait for a farther fall before buying in, or sell out before there is a farther fall, and save yourself. But if it should not be the case, any circumstance of less moment may occur to counteract the downward tendency, and cause a rise.

Buying and
selling in the
Funds.

There are many and various ways in which government prevent the fall of the funds, to give the government and the country an appearance of prosperity which does not exist. In some cases a fall may betoken commercial prosperity, and that money is more profitably employed elsewhere. Again it may betoken great commercial depression and scarcity of money; but in buying and selling in the funds, we must be guided by the circumstances of the times and of the past. Some years, owing to some intervening circumstances occurring, the usual favourable circumstances may have a depressing effect; and again, circumstances which are usually unfavourable may be favourable; and in many cases unfavourable circumstances, when they are so singly, yet when combined with favourable, we may have a favourable prospect of a rise.

A safe way of buying and selling for those who are not particularly connected with the money-market is, if the funds are stationary, or are on, or at the fall, if any of the general unfavourable circumstances should occur, if they want their money quickly without loss, they ought to sell; if they want to buy, they may wait and expect a farther decline or fall, and they may with safety wait until it just takes an upward turn before they buy. Of course, if any circumstance favourable to their rise should occur, if the funds are very low or not, they ought to buy before the funds take an upward turn; if very low, of course there will be little chance of any farther fall, but the least favourable circumstance will soon send them up, and they ought not to wait longer before purchasing. Again, where there is a fall, if any of the favourable circumstances occur, they ought not to hurry to sell out; or if they wish to buy in cheaply and quickly, they ought to buy in before there is a farther rise; or if they wish to make a profit by buying in or selling out, they ought to wait until the favourable circumstance or circumstances take effect, and produce their highest result. When, as it again just takes a downward tendency, they may expect no farther rise, more especially when it has been caused by some circumstance unfavourable to a rise, and they ought then to sell: or when it is low, when some unfavourable circumstance to a farther fall occurs, and when it has just taken the turn to rise, they ought to buy; but they ought to sell when the funds are at their maximum, and not wait a farther chance of rising; and to buy when they are at their minimum, and not wait for a farther fall. For years they have

scarcely fallen below a certain point, or risen above a certain point, and when near any of these points it is a safe measure to buy or sell accordingly, and not run or wait the chance of a farther rise or fall. These points we call the maximum and minimum points.

In buying and selling we ought to watch the rates of interest and the rates at which banks are discounting money—if it is high or if it is low, and the rate at which money is lent on the various securities of the country. Knowing and judging by these, you may form a very good general judgment whether to buy or sell, or delay during the upward or downward course of the funds, if any favourable or unfavourable circumstances should occur which may only have a transient effect on the funds.

The railways at present have a very great effect on the money-market. So long as they were considered a good investment for purchasing or for loans, they had a very great effect in bringing down the funds; but since they have lost the character of being good permanent investments, they have, to a certain degree, lost the effect of causing a fall in the funds, and have made the funds more firm, and not so fluctuating, but still they will have an impression in keeping them lower than they otherwise would be.

Great loss will arise by delay from not getting intelligence of the rise and fall of stock in railways or other shares, and also the delay in the information whether one has passed through Parliament or not, to be formed and constructed as a line. Great sums of money depend on knowing any of these early, and great loss is caused to some, and great gain to others, by getting this intelligence quickly or not.

Railways, when all are fairly set agoing, and a true and clear knowledge of their expenditure and profits are known, will not then cause so much risk and loss to some, and gain to a very few by speculating in their shares, nor will they have any effect in causing a rise or a fall in the funds.

Any delay in getting intelligence of any of the above circumstances, or any others which affect individuals, or the money, share, or grain-markets, do great and spreading injury to the country at large, and it is the duty of Government that proper railway inspectors in all new railways, before being run on, are appointed, as well as during their construction, and at times after they are set agoing to see that they are in a perfect state, and these inspectors not to be dependent on any of the companies.

It also shews the great necessity of giving a preference in Parliament, where two lines are competing or opposing each other, to that line where the least delay is likely to be caused to the quick conveyance of the mails or passengers.

There are many who suppose that some ought not to favour a railway which is passing near to them, and by which their property is to be benefited, and which benefit they, their family and property require, and it is also probable that a part of the benefit may arise from getting a good sum for the railway passing through the property. Now, it happens there is another railway opposing this in Parliament, and it happens that this line is considered by many to be more for the good of the country than the other, and they suppose that the others should not oppose it. This is certainly a

very absurd and erroneous opinion, and it is not natural to expect that any one is to give up a chance of benefiting himself and selling his property for as much as they can get, and more especially if they stand in need of it; and companies and others, either the right or wrong ones, if they are fools enough to give large sums for the properties, are alone to blame, if the proprietors use no other than fair means to assist to endeavour to get their line passed in opposition to any other; but if they use means of an illegal or unfair nature to prevent another from passing, in order to get their property sold, they are certainly anything but blameless. We believe it is too common at present to use unfair means for this purpose, and it is highly injurious, in a general view, from the bad example it shews and sets to the under classes, in these days of moral improvement, at least externally so. But we are afraid there is less of it internally than there used to be. Such doings are anything but of a healing nature, when the under classes ought to have a good example set to them, to cause them to respect the laws, and respect those who make and administer the laws; but if they see that they use them only for their own advantage, the country, and property, and the laws and life, may be little respected, and may be used by them to answer their own wants and necessities, when they require them, without respect to persons of any rank, unless they set and shew them the example of walking and acting uprightly.

To prevent delays, and to cause and give more expedition to railways, the rails, that is, the distance between them, ought all to be of one breadth; but as so many are already made of so many different breadths, and have got these constructed at such an enormous expense, and it would take such a large sum to diminish or extend the breadth, that it is impossible to suppose, and unreasonable to imagine or desire, that they should alter them. Besides, there are a great number of lines which have had enough to do to be able to finish them, and others who are barely able to finish them at the various breadths at which they are made, or are making them, and which will perhaps not pay, so that it would be absurd and impossible to compel all to alter to one breadth, uniform throughout the whole kingdom. But there might and ought to be a law to restrict the new ones to have a breadth which is already laid down, with a line or lines which it may adjoin, and is a continuation of; or if there are several or more lines with which it is joined, which have different breadths, it ought to take the breadth of that line which is longest; or if there are several lines joining it of one breadth, although singly not so long as one single line, yet the breadth which is common to many ought to be preferred to that common to a single branch, as least inconvenience is likely to arise from only taking these, than that breadth which one has; because, when there are several lines of one breadth entering it, there requires to be no change of passengers, goods, and carriages, the same carriages suiting the line; but if the breadth of one line is chosen, there requires to be a change of carriages at every other line entering it, although they might amount to a dozen, and were all of one breadth, except one or two long lines. There ought to be a law to this effect, if for no other purpose than

for the better, safer, and quicker carrying of the mails, a sufficient reason for legislating on this subject, as the whole kingdom is interested in it, and all are intimately concerned in it, from the circumstances mentioned before, and which require no delay. There are other reasons for it, though not in action at present, which are yet of great importance, as without their being cared for, the others would be of no avail, or there would not be such circumstances requiring them. We allude to them as a protection to the country during riots, to convey troops, and during the time of war.

If an enemy were to invade this country, or there was intelligence that such was likely to be the case, or was the case, it would be of the greatest importance to get that intelligence sent to head-quarters by an express, and the less changing and shifting, and getting ready and looking out for the quickest, safest, best, and most secure carriages, at the places where there was an alteration in the breadth, so much the better the less frequently the breadth altered. It might be the sending down of intelligence to put the different seaports and the coast in a state of preparation, or it might be to carry troops to oppose the attack of an invading army. For such a purpose it is of the greatest consequence to the safety of the towns bordering the coast to be preserved, and to be prepared for attack, and for the country, to prevent an enemy from landing and invading the country. It is of the greatest use in carrying provisions and ammunition to the different places, where, unless there were troops, and provisions, and ammunition sent in time, the country might be destroyed by the delays caused by changing of carriages at the lines where there was an alteration of the breadth.

Railways are useful to a country invaded unexpectedly, to get troops as quickly to the place of attack as possible; and also if they are unexpectedly attacked, it is an expeditious means of getting to a place of safety, or where there is a superior force or assistance. Railways, from being so easily destroyed, and yet so expeditious for travelling, gives an invaded force time to retreat, and, at the same time, by destroying the rails, and breaking down the embankments at one place, and the bridges at another, and taking away or destroying the carriages, they prevent or delay, until a superior force comes up and arrests the further progress of the enemy.

Railroads will cause a diminution in the number of horses, as also the good condition of the road, and will cause the destruction and abandonment of many, and thus will the movements of an invading force be retarded, the roads being bad, or there being none, artillery and ammunition of many kinds will not be easily conveyed along them without great delay, or till it is too late to reach the point where they were to be brought into operation; but although they had good roads, they have not horses to draw them, as the horses are so few, and not easily to be found; but if the invaded have destroyed the railroads, they can easier get horses, and march and use them against an enemy. By such means the whole plan of an invasion might be prevented, and an enemy repulsed; but, by delays on account of different breadths, a country might be seriously destroyed. Again, if troops required a number of carriages at one point, although a time were given to get them, it would be impossible to get the quantity required, as they are made

of different breadths to suit different breadths of rails, and a country might be worse off in this case with railways than without them, as fewer travelling military conveyances may be made on account of the military going by rail, and they could not get horses and carts as usual, as they are diminished in quantity. The government ought to be provided for such occurrences. At any rate, by this want the whole country might be overrun by an invading force, and parties of marauders going through the country destroying everything before conveyances could be had.

Railways have been considered to be of great benefit to the country, and doing good by the labour they give in their construction. They do give labour to some, but not to all, as most residents where they are constructing have employments where they reside, and often these are fixed for a certain length of time, or their occupation will not allow of their leaving it until what they are doing is finished; and there are many, and these are very numerous, to whom the working at the construction of railroads is too laborious and rough, and beyond their strength, as well as contrary to their taste, and also because they do not like the bad and mixed company of men from all quarters with which railroads are constructed. No doubt the wages are high; but even if they wished employment, they cannot get it, as there were plenty men on the works before they came there, wherever the place may be, the same men doing for a great part of the line, so that it cannot be said they bring work to their part of the country; and even if it did, they are very soon finished with that part of the line situated in their district; and removing, as they get on, to another district, they cannot get to their own homes in the evening, which does not suit them.

Railways a means of raising the price of provisions.

The construction of railways causes much injury by raising the price of provisions of every kind in the neighbourhood where they are constructing, and they only benefit a very few on this account; but on the mass it has a very injurious effect; and more particularly if in a season of scarcity, when it causes a very high and increased price of provisions, as well as a scarcity of them, and this tells very sadly on the poor. In fact, they can get nothing at a reasonable price, and sometimes not even for money; and it puts them much about, and causes a great loss of time to go to a distance to get it.

Railroads, when constructed and set agoing, raise the price of provisions and country produce of all kinds, and anything that is peculiar to the district. For instance coals; they raise them very much in price; they prevent fish being brought to places where they at one time got them regularly and cheap, as they can carry them now farther, and to a better market, as by rail they are carried expeditiously, and in a state of preservation; and they thus cause a highness in the price, and a scarcity of them, if any, to towns where they were wont to have them, and also in the neighbourhood where they are caught.

To the poor, a very small rise in the price of any article of consumption which they use, tells very much on them and their families, whatever benefit may arise to farmers and others from railroads. Although they may be enriched and benefited, they never think of raising their men's wages, either in good or bad years, or

under good or bad circumstances to themselves ; not that the wages are very good in prosperous years, they are generally small enough even then, but they diminish them in times unfavourable to themselves and in good years, but never, at least, very quickly or to any great extent, think of raising them in bad years, when their wages are already too small in good years, nor do they think of raising them when circumstances are favourable to themselves, such at least is more general with employers than it is not.

There can be no doubt that railways, on the whole, are of great general benefit to a nation, and are a first-rate substitute for roads, which they have done away with, and left burdened with an enormous debt in every part of the country, without any chance of getting it paid up, in the shape either of principal or interest, however small in amount it may be on some roads. But as in the case of roads they do injury, as is seen in their instance, shewing that, like all other improvements, some, and we will say most (at least they ought) they may benefit, but there are always many to whom they do injury. They have entirely changed and deranged the monetary system of the country during the last year or two. As a means of speculation they have done, and are doing, a great deal of harm. We would strongly recommend and guard those who have no more money than they require, not to speculate and invest their money in railway shares, or lend it to companies from the high interest offered by some of them. There are many which are puffed up in newspapers as first-rate speculations, but even permanent investments, where a high yearly interest may be got by having shares in them, which interest arises from the great traffic that is expected. There are many influential shareholders and companies who at first, fancying their railway would be successful, bought up, or kept, or divided the most of the shares amongst themselves, to sell them at a high premium ; but not finding their speculation likely to be successful, on account of an opposition line coming suddenly into existence, sell their shares to one another at a high pretended premium, the sale also being fictitious, and thus they gull the public to buy them, and to make them fancy it is a good speculation ; but such sales only being pretended, although they may look in the newspapers as real and true sales and premium, those who understand such matters pay no attention to them, fancying every one else knows them, or it is no business of theirs how the public are gulled and swindled out of their money. There are many who are not acquainted with these matters, when they see a daily and weekly rise in the price of shares of railways, and a great puff about its being the best railway of any, and likely to increase its traffic a hundred-fold, and when this new branch and the other junction, and an amalgamation with some other railroad and company has been made, it will double it, and when a certain district is opened up and wrought, which they pretend is famous for the extent of its coal-fields of first-rate quality, and useful for all purposes, either for heat or cleanliness and durability ; there is iron ore of the best kind and of a very superior quality, and it is in great abundance ; and they thus pretend that as the railway is more than paying now, there can be no doubt when these and all other sources of profit come into operation, as they are sure they will do, the railway will

then pay a hundred-fold, and districts which were formerly barren, poor, and thinly peopled, will be enriched and covered with people, and the shares will, from the interest and profits of the traffic, realize fortunes for them, and if they do not wish it as a permanent investment, they will be able to sell their shares the next hour after paying for them at a very great profit. Such paragraphs are too common in the newspapers, and are too readily believed, and are very apt to cause the unwary, or those ignorant of such matters, to purchase in them for the sake of a permanent investment; and those who live where lines pass near them, such as farmers and others, are very apt to buy their shares, as they hear nothing but the best reports of the line, and there is nothing else talked about, and they buy, some say, to encourage it, and to improve themselves and the district, and because it is very convenient for them, and the shares are paying and rising in value, and as they have a small sum past them which is lying in the bank, or it may be in the house, they may as well take the opportunity of taking shares with it, and getting a high interest without any trouble. Others may do it from the desire to make the most of a small sum they have for their own benefit, without any regard to the benefit of the country, as they are told if they should require the money back again, if the year or harvest turns out bad, to pay their rent, they can get them sold at a profit whenever they please, and they fancy the favourable reports are true, because they see such accounts of it in the newspapers, and country folks believe most things they see written about in the newspapers, and fancy nobody would think of putting it in if it were not true, and that it must be true, because they never saw it contradicted. There are always plenty about the publishing-office of a newspaper who are ready to put such articles into them, either for pay or to fill them up. Any person who is acquainted with the false reports that are frequently put, and any one who knows these things, and what they mean, never think it worth their trouble to contradict them, so long as they do not interfere with any speculation or line in which they may be engaged.

Railways as a permanent investment not to be trusted. As a permanent investment with the expectation of getting a high interest, and from there being a chance of getting no interest, we would strongly advise those who are to depend on getting it, to try some more certain investment, where they will get good interest, and be sure of it, as there are few railways which will give more than common interest. There are many railways which would have paid a good interest if they had only used the line they first intended; but they have extended it into unprofitable districts, and amalgamated it with bad paying lines, and formed junctions and branch lines, and by doing so have so diminished their funds and profits on these new additions, which have added greatly to their expense from not being profitable, but were compelled to take them up, and to make others, to prevent opposition lines, which would have even diminished their profits more, if they had not stopped them by taking up or buying up, and forming their lines as well as others. On account of these at first unforeseen events and circumstances, and as all railways, however profitable they may seem to be at their first formation, are liable and more than likely to be compelled to do the same thing, and in the long run what was con-

sidered to be a certain, sure, and first-rate speculation and investment, turns out by these new compulsory life-preserving additions, to be as bad a speculation as it is possible to imagine. It only shews that people ought not to buy shares for permanent investment from the favourable state of the shares at the first starting of the railway, as from experience of some of the best lines, their first favourable aspect is more than likely to be any thing but favourable from the after and unexpected additional and unfavourable, and expensive and unprofitable additions to the first line, which before these additions paid so well, and the shares sold at such a high premium, but do not do so now. We do not see how railways are to pay, at least most. The public roads were always in debt, the traffic of most not paying the expenses of repair.

On account of this unprofitableness from junctions, amalgamations, new branches, &c. (the ruin to most good paying railways), the fares are likely to be kept up, and to continue high, to pay for these bad and numerous and ill-paying additions. Therefore, too many lines belonging to one company are against low fares to the public. In conclusion, railways may do great good to many, but before this can take place, they will and have caused great annoyance and injury to many.

SPECULATIONS.

THERE are many schemes and speculations got up in times of public trouble and difficulty, as at the present time, for the purpose of improving and ameliorating the hard and miserable condition of the working-classes, and these schemes and speculations are not always got up with the requisite degree of care and foresight which is necessary to prevent a greater evil afterwards, although for the present moment they may be attended with certain advantages to the poor ; but yet these schemes may do great harm to the general and future prosperity of the town for a long time, by their injuring those who embark their capital in them, and by their losing it from the speculation turning out to be unsuccessful ; and they are afterwards prevented from benefiting the town to which they belong when it is necessary to do it, and when they might embark their capital in some branch of trade which might benefit both themselves and their fellow-townsmen.

Now, it often happens in times of trouble and distress, that there are many individuals who set agoing, for their own advantage, schemes which they know they are getting up for themselves alone, and which they know are not likely to be permanent, or to pay the expenses of those who may be at the expense of their outlay ; but they know they will likely get others to join them from benevolent motives, and who do not look to get any profit by the scheme, and are quite satisfied if they think they will get their own ; and these individuals are often men of rank, or men who have great sway and influence over the opinions of others of their own townsmen, from their goodness, humanity, and charity ; and being known to be so, others, without considering the future prospects of the scheme, follow the example which has been set to them, and never think or look about for themselves to see whether it is likely to be permanently successful or not, but suppose that those who have set the example, and assisted in getting up the scheme, must have made sure that there was every chance of its success, and that great good would arise from it to the whole town, as well as to all connected with the scheme. There are many who would promote and advance schemes for the benefit of their fellow-townsmen with their purses, from real benevolence and philanthropy, and they are very sanguine about the success of

every scheme that may be set agoing for the benefit of their distressed fellow-townsmen, and they assist it whether it be right or wrong with their purses, but not with their heads. They never think of the ill they may be doing by giving their gratuitous assistance, without considering or making the necessary inquiries, whether it is likely to be for the permanent good of the town, or whether, if it is only temporary, that it is likely to answer the end of a temporary good, they think that if they give their purses they have done all that is necessary. They do not think that they are doing great harm by permitting such a scheme to go on, as well as shewing a bad example to others by encouraging them, and making them believe that it is likely to do good when it is probable that it will do great harm, and by persuading those of the town to lay out their money on it; and when it turns out a bad or improper, and useless or losing scheme, they will not, and are not able at some future period to assist in some that may be of general benefit to all and to themselves. There is nothing heard of in towns but the starting of new companies; and as soon as one is formed, they require something new, and they start another, and so they go on, destroying and injuring the whole town, by doing everything, however simple, or however useless or unnecessary it may be by companies; but if they take it into their heads they raise and get up a new company to effect their purpose.

Bad effects of
getting up
Companies
heedlessly.

By this heedless and unnecessary forming of companies, and by the bad effects and the bad success attending them, and from the harm arising from them, and so preventing that from which good might result, when, for instance, it might be the bringing into the town any work that is likely to succeed, they do not try it from not being able, or from being doubtful of its utility from their experience of the former scheme, and also from the harm which it did the town latterly, although at first starting it might be successful, which at first starting it appeared to be, but by not looking farther on and more about them, they did not see that it would afterwards turn out unsuccessful, it might be from its being inconvenient for the purpose, and it might be that there were places more suitable for it, and that it could be done there at less expense, and an opposition might be started there which would beat down their scheme, or it might be that immense works at a great expense were got up, but it might happen that the article required was not likely to be required long, or it might be that the most of it had already been made at other places, and that this one was too late of beginning it, or it might happen that better articles might be made at other places where they never were made before, but where the raw material and other articles for manufacturing it were cheaper and in greater abundance. We may instance such an example in the making of rails for railroads, which works go under the name of Malleable Iron Works. For instance, works starting now for this purpose alone, unless they are in connection with other iron works for the manufacture of other articles than rails, for which they are ostensibly got up, they have no great chance of being permanent, as there are so many railways already finished and supplied; and, again, America and other places which used to get their iron-ore and rails from this country, find that they

Iron Works.

can manufacture them cheaper and easier and as good themselves, and do not require them from this country. There is no doubt this was a very paying branch of the iron trade for a year or two, when railways were first started, and before so many railroads were finished, and when America and other countries took them from this, and before there were so many new works of the same kind started, it might have been then, and was a good temporary speculation, and might have done good to a starving population, by giving employment; but as a permanent work it is not to be thought of, as it only continues until railroads are finished, and that will not be long, at least they will only be made for short distances, as all the main and leading lines will be soon finished. Afterwards there will be a stray branch now and then; but this is not sufficient to keep going so many new works for rails as have been started, and which did not exist before railroads, and must cease when they are finished. These new works, by bringing to a poor town a new and poor and disreputable population, will only add to the misery and distress of the place when there is want of work, and less charity will be able to be given to those who belong and were brought up in the place, and who at the first starting of the work have plenty of employment at the usual trades of the town, although they had not when the carrying on and bringing to the town such work was first mentioned, and who preferred their own work to this,—thus causing a new population.

There is little doubt that the iron trade since the commencement of railroads has been increased, and carried on to a far greater extent than ever it was before in Great Britain; and immediately preceding this period there had been a very great degree of increase and business in the iron trade, more than is generally required, but this necessity for it ceasing, and from many without a foresight of the future chances of its going on having thought it would continue for ever, started iron works when too late at very great expense, and the trade stopping, there was nothing but ruin and complaints for five or six months continually throughout the whole country, from iron masters and iron speculators and gamblers trying to get redress from the Legislature; but they scarcely considered their case, as they could do nothing, for the reason that they were alone to blame in not calculating when there was enough of works already for iron, and that the increased demand had been supplied before most of them had started, or perhaps they bought up works which had been started in time, but which had been sold by their first originators when they saw the trade was likely to cease, and that the demand had been about supplied, or that other places were manufacturing for themselves. There is little doubt that the iron trade will again take a sudden turn and stagnate, as this new increase in the trade had its origin in the formation of railways; so when railways are nearly finished, there will be destruction and ruin, at the very least there will be a stoppage of a very great many of the iron works, whoever has them in their hands, or whether they have made by them or not, and the workmen will not be required, and are thrown loose on the town to starve and riot, and there is no one to blame but those who were too late in setting the works agoing, or in making them too

Iron trade
too much
enlarged.

Great possi-
bility of much
loss to the
iron trade.

extensive, and not looking to the state of the past trade, and seeing what has already happened, and to the trade as it is at present in this country, and without considering that it is at present carried on abroad, which was not the case for a long time at the first; and also that there are too many newly-started works of the same kind at home, and also that the particular branch of it is not likely to be permanent; and thus, by their want of foresight, however charitable and humane and good their intentions may be, they thus bring ruin on their fellow-townsmen by engaging them in schemes about which they know nothing, but which may have been insidiously suggested to them or the public generally by those who were likely to be gainers by it, or who thought they would be so, and who thus led them on; and they at length get their approval and support, and consult some interested person, but one who too well knows the work, and has a practical knowledge of it, and who also expects to gain by it, and who gives the most favourable opinion of the chances that such a work will be successful, and that all will be great gainers, and no one will lose by undertaking and assisting in such a work; and from hearing this from such a well-known person, subscriptions are immediately set a-going, as well as the praises and advantages of the scheme, and all join in it without knowing or thinking any thing about the matter, some expecting to make fortunes by it, and others because it is to benefit their townsmen, and that permanently. And so the town and its inhabitants may be ruined by the thoughtless generosity, and short-sighted philanthropy of what are called very good charitable people, starting and recommending such schemes by their example, by their purse, and by their entreaties. Such schemes are often started, but are never finished, and if finished, are left in debt, and if not left in debt, they may be left on the hands of those who subscribed for them, as a dead and unsuccessful scheme from which no benefit but loss is to be derived, as they were never required, and were useless and hurriedly got up. Or it may be, if the first branch of the trade does not succeed, they try some other, and if this does no good, they sell off the whole concern to some one as a bargain, and almost give it for nothing, and so ends the scheme.

Thoughtless
and humane
individuals.

Charitable and humane individuals often get up schemes for the benefit of their townsmen, which as a speculation are not, or may not be very profitable, but which are highly useful, and will not be very losing concerns, at least if they are losing, the sum which they cost is not very great; and the shares being much divided, and there are not many who have a great number of shares, and if they have, they can afford to lose on them, but generally speaking, the shares being divided, do not fall heavily on any one, and no one is impoverished by them—such is the case with gas, water, and bath companies. But charitable individuals may spoil their good effect, and do great harm and injury to their fellow town's-people, by injudiciously getting them up, and at an expensive price, when they, by looking about them a little, might have done it successfully, and even with some profit to the shareholders. For instance, if there should be an opposition company in the place, and this a small place, it is a great pity to start an opposition company to this. We will suppose that such companies as the above are got up for the

general good and benefit of the town, more than from a desire to get profit by it ; it is a great pity to start an opposition to any of these, if they are moderate in their price, and if the quality of the article is good and in plenty, and if it is used generally by all the towns-people. An opposition may be started from considering the price of the article a great deal cheaper in another place than this ; which may arise from the difficulties to be overcome being greater in one place than in another, or it may be the material is more difficult to be got and more expensive, or it may be that the article is more generally used in the one place than in the other, or the one town may be larger than the other, and by more individuals using it they can sell it cheaper, and even have a profit by it. Many of these circumstances are never considered in starting an opposition work in small towns ; they often arise from some private pique or from some mistake, and have their origin from some such cause. If works have been previously constructed, and pipes laid and carried into all the houses, or most, by an old company, and if it is water, and that is in sufficient quantity and purity, and at a reasonable price, although perhaps, in a dry summer, for five or six weeks, they might not have as much water as they wish at all times of the day ; yet if they get as much once a-day for an hour or two as will serve them for a day or two, if they like to keep a cistern or barrel to put it in, it is a pity to start an opposition, as in a small town two companies of the same kind are the ruin of both ; and in all likelihood, after the second is started, it is not likely that both will pay the shareholders, as one company is sufficient in small towns, and sometimes more than sufficient ; and it is more than probable if the new company were started because the other was too high in their charges, or deficient in the quantity or the quality, there being two, there will be less chance of their being improved in any of these points, as their consumption being to a certain extent divided, it will not be sufficient to pay the expenses of either, and the inhabitants will be worse off than ever ; and it is probable the prices will be reduced by the new company, and this reduction bears heavily on them, and they are perhaps effecting this reduction by using their capital or sunk fund, and not from the water taken in, paying their expenses, and this is attended with serious loss. The old company may have made some profit before this new company started, yet very little, but as a number of those using their water have gone to the other company, this tells on their profits, and they may have none, or perhaps their expenditure is not paid by the sale of their article. Now if one of the companies should give over, say the old company, although the other had a large capital, yet the article is likely to be raised in price from the old company stopping, and it was the price which made the new company start to oppose the other, but from selling the article while opposed, cheaper, than they could afford to give it, and beyond what their capital would allow, they are obliged to raise it higher than what the old company gave it for, or else they are not able to carry it on any more than the old company at the reduced prices, and the old company being so reduced are not again able to start in opposition. Or it may be they have sold their works to the new company, to make the best of their works, which would be useless to them otherwise, and

they have perhaps given them up sooner, as they might get them favourably sold, to make them stop their opposition, as they were not able to be opposed much longer by the other company, nor they by them, and the new company are still further embarrassed by this new purchase, when there might not be sufficient remuneration for the capital laid out, although they got the whole town to take their water, but being embarrassed by this new purchase, which they did not require, and which alone was more than sufficient for the wants of the town. And so the town, by this thoughtless and injurious opposition, are worse off than ever.

Water Com-
panies.

It might happen that the old company, in the case of water, might be the property of the town-council, who till within the last fifteen years, made all improvements, and supplied such like necessary wants of towns, until within these few years, when these things have been done by companies. Now it is certainly a great pity if water is brought into a town by a corporation which is poor, that it should be brought in by a new company, especially as the corporation company may be paying, and may have something over for improvements of the town, which it may have no other way of paying for these improvements or wants necessary for the general good and health of towns; or, it may be, the water-rates do not pay for the expenses of the water, which does great harm to a town by the starting an opposition; it may entirely throw the works on the corporation, who may have got the loan of money on other town-property, in order to bring in and finish the works, in which case it does great harm to the corporation and the town, from making them less able than ever to attend to the other wants of the town, and an opposition is only causing one evil to prevent another. We would recommend charitable and philanthropic individuals to consider well before they start an opposition in this case, as by doing so they do harm to the town. If they have any complaint to make of deficiency, or in quality, or in price, they may see if they can cheapen or improve it by going to the proper quarter; and if they can, and do not do it, they ought to warn them that they will start an opposition. But many benevolent and charitable and thoughtless persons, who do great harm in many cases, set agoing other companies without considering, or trying to support or improve that of the town, as the corporation are not able to do it, and thus they start an opposition, and do harm to the whole town, whose water, if it is expensive, or bad in quality, they ought to subscribe and give the town the subscriptions, if they are truly benevolent and able to do it, as it is for the benefit of all in more ways than one; or, if they are not able, they may subscribe and give it, and get any surplus sum or revenue that may arise from the improvements, after paying expenses, and allowing so much for future repairs; or they may, if benevolent, and wish to do good, and benefit the town where they may have been brought up, or where they may have resided so long, they ought to lend their subscriptions at a very low rate of interest, or without interest if they are able, the principal sum to be paid back when the town are able, or they may give it to the town; at any rate they ought not to start an opposition until they try some of these different ways of assisting the town; and if they do not agree to their proposal, then

they may start an opposition company; and if they agree so much the better, as a great deal smaller sum will answer for new improvements and additional wants, and it will do it in a more perfect manner, as all the pipes are already made, and they may have only to buy pipes to convey more water from a new or better spring; but a new company have to get water, and buy the whole of the pipes, and are put to an enormous expense, as they may also have to go farther to get water, and pay high for the springs, and the giving water perhaps does not pay the corporation, they having at first erected them for the benefit of the town, more than for profit.

In the same way gas companies, by opposition in small towns, Gas Company. the inhabitants and all concerned are more than likely to be losers by such, and the best way to get redress, by the price being high and the quality bad, is to form a junction, which is cheaper, and safer, and better for all parties, and we would advise benevolent and charitable individuals to consider well, and see if the company, with their present funds, revenues, and other means at command, can effect the improvements required, and if they can and will not, then start an opposition; but if they cannot, and are willing to form a junction and assist them, which may be done quickly and at no expense, but for the benefit of all, whereas an opposition is detrimental to the interests of all the inhabitants for whose benefit it was got up, as well as to both companies. Springs which were good at one time, and which had always a good and large supply of water, and which our forefathers say they never saw dry in the dryest seasons, may yet become dry in our generation from very simple, yet artificial causes, which are at work every day.

Springs, to be permanent, ought to spring out of the subterranean lakes and rivers which run and permeate through the bowels of the earth, and which waters most likely originate from the combination of the different gases which combine and form water, and which gases are produced by the subterranean fires and vapours which originate and arise in the bosom of the earth. It is from these subterranean lakes or rivers that the Artesian wells get such inexhaustible supplies of water. Where there is a well or spring, if you dig a deeper one beside it, or in its neighbourhood, the shallowest well becomes dry. In the neighbourhood of coal-pits or mines the wells in the neighbourhood of such, and rivulets and streams which used to flow abundantly before there were mines, have become dry by the sinking of a deep pit, and the more pits the more likely are they to become dry; it is therefore of importance that care should be taken, before carrying pipes to a spring, three or four miles to a town, that the coal has been wrought out of that district, because pits may be sunk in the neighbourhood of these springs, and dry them up, and thus a great loss and expense is caused. One pit is often used to drain and draw off the water from another by an engine being used to bring it to the surface, and the coal is wrought in one of the pits by the water being drained out of it. Old coal-pits are very good springs if water can be had no other way; it may be brought to the surface in large quantities by steam-engines.

A town ruined by over-speculation. The forming of too many companies in a town without requiring them, but doing it merely from a speculating and gambling motive, is highly destructive to the trade, and prosperity, and interests of any town, and all who are in it ; and it may be long before a town may recover from the breaking up and smashing of such companies as are set agoing on every small occasion or hint in this company-mania age, when everything which requires to be done, requires a company to carry it through, however simple or easy it may be, or whether it is necessary or not.

MINES AND MINING GIRLS.

Misplaced
humanity
and sympathy
of the British
public.

THE British public are generally very wayward, and are very liable to give way to their feelings in behalf of themselves as well as others, and to sympathize in the distresses, ills, and misfortunes of others ; and very often this fine sympathy and delicacy of feeling, which comes on them suddenly, causes bursts of emotion and expression, which being sudden, unguarded, and injudicious, and without being controlled, does great and incalculable injury, even to those for whose benefit it is displayed, and for whom they feel and sympathize ; and acting on these injudicious and thoughtless feelings and passions, they do great injury to them, as well as to themselves and the British nation, if not at present, at least in the course of time.

Humane
individuals.

There are many tender, and humane, and benevolent individuals, who are truly single-hearted and unselfish in their natures, who are misled and deceived by the tender-hearted reports of others about things and objects which are set forth to them, and which they themselves may see without looking close enough or long enough into them, or comparing them with others ; and to them they may look like barbarous and inhumane, but are really neither ; but these individuals, by their ill-timed and ill-judged and thoughtless sympathy, cause cruelty and inhumanity, by their taking from large classes the means of supporting themselves in happiness and comfort ; and who, by the untimely sympathizing zeal and assistance of Lord Ashley in their behalf, have lost a lawful, and not hard or cruel means of supporting themselves, and keeping themselves from starving, and respectable.

Lord Ashley
and coal-min-
ing girls.

Lord Ashley, and others of his class, may have seen these girls, who used to work in mines of coal, begrimed and blackened with coal-dust, and which, no doubt, looked wretched to one reared and brought up in the lap of luxury, and to the fine looks, dresses, and cleanliness of ladies as they may be seen at the opening of Parliament, or at one of her Majesty's, or any of the balls of the nobility ; but we doubt whether the happiness of the ball lady is as great as that of the at work mining or collier girl when at home, or free from her work. These girls might look to his lordship, and do look to disadvantage, and even horribly fearful, and even wretched to look at ; but if he had examined them oftener and closer, and at different times, as when they were cleaned, when at home, when at church, or when

at market or fair, or when at times of amusement, or festival or merriment, and of which they have more than most others that we know, and he would see none gayer, happier, and with less care of the past, or thought of the future, or who looked fairer, happier, cleaner, healthier, fatter, and better dressed. The public philanthropists could not have begun with a class who less required their assistance than this. If Lord Ashley had viewed them more frequently at different stages of the day, week, and year, he might have seen they were neither tired nor care-worn, nor bad nor fearful looking, however disgusting or miserable looking they might appear to one not used, nor knowing fully the exact nature of their employment in the bosom of the earth. In the pit they look even worse, and at their work it may seem even like barbarity; but it is only fancy, as their work is light in comparison of many women; and in comparison of thousands, it is only amusement sufficient for exercise to them. There has been a report that there has been great obscenity among them in the pit; but this is quite erroneous. Morality of mining girls. There is really nothing of the kind. It has been said that the darkness of the pit gives rise to it; but this is a mistake. There is none below, as they are there beside their fathers, brothers, and relations. It has been said that their dress when working has a very immoral look, and is open about the bosom, and is unseemly; perhaps it may be so in certain cases, as it may be put on loose for the sake of ease; and if it is loose, and open and unseemly, it is not noticed or thought of by those at work. It is only casual observers who see it, and who notice it, because they are not used to it, and the working-classes generally. The same thing may be seen on harvest-fields, composed of all the different classes of working girls, and even those who do not work, and almost all have their bosoms to a certain extent uncovered, and their clothes very loosely about them, and as few on as they may possibly require; and if any of these benevolent gentlemen or their wives were working on a harvest-day under a burning sun, we have little doubt, if others took off the half of their clothes, they would thankfully follow a good example, and improve it a little farther, by taking off some more than they saw done; and no one would notice it unless they took them all off. What is considered immoral by one person in a different rank, sphere, or situation in life, is not thought so by a community differently situated, and no attention is paid to it. It is only such as these very humane individuals who scrutinize and mark every superficial external object, and who are so polished externally that they alone can perceive it, and think about it. Many others may see it in an evanescent manner; but it goes from the thought and memory as quickly. It may not even rest on these at all. It is custom that makes any thing moral to look at or immoral. Some of these persons would say, that grown up brothers and sisters and parents, sleeping all in one apartment, was highly immoral, or would lead to immorality, or have a demoralizing tendency; but nothing immoral, or the thought of it, arises. No one would think of it who has seen or knows anything of brotherly and parental affection, and when they may have been accustomed to it from their very birth. We should think, and we believe, that this closeness, and intimate habit of living, binds and

What is considered immoral in one rank is moral in another.

unites families all the closer ; and we know as yet it has done no harm of any kind, as it has been done from time immemorial throughout the whole of Scotland, where there is true and genuine religion and morality, at least as much, if not more, than in any other country. It is custom that makes some appearances immoral, which have and cause no immorality. No doubt under certain circumstances they may lead to immorality, but these are the exceptions. In the case of families sleeping in the same apartment, it is not natural that it should have an immoral effect ; but from their being accustomed to it, where it happens under immoral circumstances, and if they should be in its way, it will lose its immoral effect on them, as they will not likely notice it from being accustomed to it when it had no immoral effect, and was not considered to be immoral. If it were open immorality, of course it would be perceived, and ought to be put down, but it has only been said by those who never saw any thing of the kind but on rare occasions, that the tendency is immoral, which is not the case so far as regards Scotland. This universal bed-room has taken its origin from necessity, and is still continued from necessity and custom, as they have never heard or seen any thing of its immorality. If they were told it was so, they would not know what the word meant—they would suppose the humane gentleman meant any thing but the true meaning of the word, or that they had mistaken its meaning. The fact is, they prove to their own satisfaction immorality where it never existed, and was never thought of, and by making it so, and making others believe it, they put those who are the objects of their kindness to great loss and inconvenience, for nothing but whims and fancied immoral ideas and notions of their own. We wonder that these philanthropic individuals can calmly hear accounts, and see her Majesty surrounded and conversing with Highlanders dressed in the ancient dress of the north of Scotland. It certainly, if you fancy it, has a very indelicate appearance, and enough to shock the modesty of these moral gentlemen, and especially ladies. It is wonderful how it is possible that any one allows their wives or daughters to go within seeing or hearing of them. We are certain we do not know any thing more indelicate looking, and, according to them, enough to give rise to great immorality of all kinds, and without doubt to immoral feelings and ideas ; but it is the custom of a whole nation, we may say, to be clad in this way from their childhood, and who we have no doubt, if they were told it was an immoral dress, could clearly prove that it might be so, but that a pair of trousers caused more exposure, and appeared more immoral than a kilt. It is only custom that makes us used to it, and we do not fancy any thing immoral about it, and from being accustomed to it, we never think or see its immorality ; but they do not forget that there are regiments dressed in the Highland garb, and who are constantly parading our streets, and at the first sight of these their dress may appear indelicate, but no one after a short time feels or thinks any thing indelicate about their dress, and no one wishes such a dress to be done away with—no one says it is indelicacy in the finest troops and bravest defenders of the British empire. The ladies, who have the best right to be shocked with the sight of them, are more than fond of them. The moralists ought to get them sup-

Morality in
dress.

pressed. It would be a pity to make the Scotch forget the ancient dress of the nation and her gallant defenders, whose dress is really so elegant and so picturesque, and yet convenient, and is not considered indelicate except by those who are indelicate, and suppose every thing indelicate which affects their weak nerves and delicate feelings. Strangers who first see these highlanders, from its not being the custom of their country, their first appearance startles them as being indelicate; but seeing it is the custom of the country, and no one fancying or thinking any thing indelicate about it, they also get used to it, and at length they lose sight of its indelicacy. In the same way, in some countries where petticoats are worn very short, as in some parts of Hungary, it would be considered indelicate in the females in this country to do the same, but it is not so there; it is only custom that makes some things indelicate, and some it does not, and those who do pay attention, or think farther than the outside of things, say when they see any thing indelicate, whether it is the custom or not, that it has an immoral tendency, or they say at once, without consideration or knowledge of true morality or moral feelings, that it is immoral. Women are quicker in perceiving these external appearances, which look indelicate in men, on men, and men notice them more on women than they do on their own sex, as each are more accustomed to the other, and do not think of it or perceive it.

We have heard great outcry of grown-up families sleeping in the same apartment; but those who have done so must have only seen the external view of the matter, and who did not see any thing of the reality, or of the families in whom there was no immorality, and who were true and sincere Christians, and in whom there was not as well as others the least thought or appearance of immorality. The truth is, they never thought any thing about it, nor ever dreamed that any one thought it was immoral; and it is more universal throughout Scotland than it is not, both from habit and more particularly from necessity, and on this account they are obliged to do it, or sleep out of doors, as their wages will not allow of their having more apartments.

As to there being immorality in conversation or otherwise among miners more than other persons of their station in life, we are not aware that they are worse than others. There may be jesting at times, but it is not when they are at work; we have heard as much on a harvest-field, and without any bad intention; but we know, and we have seen and heard more immorality, both in conversation and otherwise, in other classes than with miners. It is not the nature of their employment that gives rise to immorality in this or any other class—it is the want of education and religious instruction.

As to the work being unhealthy, this is quite an erroneous idea, Healthiness of the girls being all very healthy and healthy-looking, and fat, robust, mines. and cheerful. We do not know any class that have a fresher and healthier look, and especially when plainly dressed and cleaned. I daresay a person seeing them in their dirty clothes, and with their faces as black and dirty as coal-dust, and at the same time in the pits, it looks fearful to those unaccustomed to them, and who are determined to pity their condition, and to find out and make out

proof of its cruelty and barbarity, to these and to those who listen to their eloquent and pathetic recital and description of it as the deepest state of wretchedness, misery, and slavery ; and it is awful, they say, to see women in such a state in such an enlightened age, and in a Christian country ; but if they truly knew them, yet in their tired and toil-worn state, and in their wretched appearance at a distance, by approaching nearer for their own amusement, they would ask you to take a ride in the baskets they are pushing on trucks before them, to save you coming against the roof with your head, and to save you the toil of going along stooping ; and if you could converse with them in their own lowly way, instead of troubling them with stiff and formal questions about their condition, you might get a different story of it. It is the nature of most working people, when questioned and sympathized with, to complain of their hard lot, hard masters, and small wages, however great they may be ; and if humane people only give the answers which they get from these, or almost any class, they will almost be certain to make out that their condition is a hard one ; but if they think for themselves, and look about them, and compare every thing connected with them and with the other classes of the community of the same rank in life, they will find that their condition is far better than that of the others ; and if you change their occupation, the best you can do for them is only to make them worse than they were.

A woman in a
pit looks bar-
barous.

To see them in a pit changes and throws a bad light on the subject, and you are perhaps only recovered from the fright or horror of descending and swinging in the air, and in a narrow passage with an abyss below, with the chance of being upset by a bucket coming up and coming against you, if you have not a person who can keep you clear of it. You who are not accustomed to this would say (to a gaping and enlightened audience) it was fearful, and that they risked their lives every time they went down. This would tell very well ; but as those who go down find no difficulty in managing to keep clear of the ascending bucket with very little attention and care, you cannot say it is dangerous, although it might and would be so to any one who steps into the bucket alarmed, and who does not know that another bucket is coming up, and that it will upset yours if you do not push it off as it approaches you. Having descended the pit, you are in darkness, with nothing but a small lamp, and you are not recovered from your fright, and you really do not see very well, and every thing has a fearful and terrific look, and you see the miners working perhaps in a very cramped position, and the girls pushing baskets before them, and you have recollections of the mines of Siberia and slavery, and picture, and fancy, and pity the one equally with the other, while the one is labouring at liberty, happy and free, well fed and clad, and not hard wrought, only the occupation has to those unaccustomed to it, a very gloomy, dull, and terrific look, and they are also surrounded by their friends, and their toil is daily and temporary ; while the work of the Siberian exile is hard and rough, as is also his fare, and he is removed from all his friends, and is doomed to spend his days there in misery and wretchedness, and at the mercy of his taskmasters.

Look at the
girls out of
the pit.

If you could see them when they are cleaned and dressed, they are entirely changed in appearance,—they look so cheerful, healthy,

and fresh, but not more so than they really are in the pit, and none of the girls round look fatter, fairer, or better clad, or more cheerful. As to their being hard wrought, and their occupation unfit for women, I am sure we do not know what is improper about it, or unhealthy. No doubt, if it were possible, they might be ladies with plenty of money, and no occupation; but if you compare them with those of their own station of life, who have different occupations, they are far better off than these; they are fatter, and live better; they have better wages, and they are as well dressed, if not better, than other girls, and in most cases more showily dressed. They now receive as good, if not a better education, and get it as cheap and close at hand.

Their work is not so laborious as that of country-girls at field-work. Better use and employ the law to stop these from working. Some of these fill carts with manure,—harder work than down the pit; some spread manure, some dig potatoes, some shear and cut down the crops—very hard and laborious occupations. Others are employed out of doors in very cold and even wet weather, worse than being below. Again, there are girls who work on looms from seven in the morning until eight and nine in the evening, with three hours of interval; but these girls are healthy, and are not overwrought to look at them, and they do not say they are. They have been brought up to it, and are not tired, as the labour is not heavy, and custom is the great thing for ameliorating and lightening labour. The labour is only considered hard when wages and work are scarce: as long as they get work, with tolerable wages, they do not complain. Better make these also give up work, and by your humanity and improvement, make their condition a thousand times worse, by making them starve for want of employment.

Again, there is a class, and an immense class, who are really hard and slavishly wrought, and who have and get scarcely sufficient to keep them from starving—we allude to girls in large towns who sew. They rise early, and they sit late, and work at an unhealthy and tedious occupation, and get almost no remuneration. They are an immense class. Why did Lord Ashley not look after these first? There is no difference of opinion with regard to them,—theirs is no fictitious case only seen at a distance. Why did he and others not try to stop these from working, or diminishing their hours of labour, or raising their wages? We do not know. They may yet look after these, and with a better chance of its being a true case for sympathy; but as bad, if not worse, to redress and interfere with and stop, as by stopping them it only causes misery and starvation. Where there is so much competition among those wishing employment, and where it is asked from real necessity, there will always be hard labour, and slavery, and small wages—almost no wages. You must diminish the competition to improve their condition, which is impossible at present and in the present state of the country, where we have so large a number of unemployed females who from necessity require to work, and take what wages are given to them, rather than no wages, which must be the case if they do work, and they are better to take what they can get than to be idle and starve, which would be the case if thrown out of employment.

Comparison
between min-
ing and other
working girls.
Sewing girls.

**Injury of
legislating on
such subjects.
Edinburgh
Fishwives.** If you legislate and stop from working mining girls, without giving them a substitute, but leaving them to starve, as there are too many girls for all the other employments for girls, you may stop the occupation of Edinburgh fishwives. Theirs is a hard, laborious, and toilsome occupation, and they work more like animals than women; but they are used to it, and are fresh, fat, and healthy. Where will you see healthier women and fairer, and women or men who are harder wrought? Better stop these from working like brutes. They are seen every day in Edinburgh, but who thinks of it, and their profits are very small.

**How are they
to gain a liv-
ing now.** The girls in the pits are well educated, and their education is cheap, and is got on their threshold, so no complaint can now be made of want of education, although at one time they were an ignorant, illiterate, and rude race; but they are not so now, and have not been for years: but the girls being obliged to give up their occupation, what are they to do, how are they to live, and feed, and clothe themselves; where there are five or six daughters in one family who had each employment, and more than kept themselves, who is to keep them? Perhaps their father has high wages, as miners generally have, but this is nothing among other six. You say they may go to country-work, which is more laborious than that they were at before; it is overstocked, and continues only a short time, and if some get employment, they only keep others out who used to get it; wages are also very small. Or they may be servants: there were always plenty of these, and there is no use for mining girls. They have not been brought up as servants, and will make clumsy ones. What are they to do?—are they to sit at home half-starved, and a burden on their parents, and go about half-clad and in rags? Their parents will now be unable to lay past anything and save for old age and sickness, which come sooner on men in pits from the dust, and deleterious gases more than from dust, going into their lungs, and causes a difficulty of breathing—in some it causes consumption; but girls are not affected, as they are not in the way of the dust, which arises as the men are picking in enclosed and narrow spaces. The girls by being stopped from working are worse off than ever, but it is not they who are the only sufferers. All the other girls in the neighbourhood are sufferers, as there were more girls before this stoppage than were required, and by this surplus there are still more, and this causes a greater diminution in the already too much diminished and small wages, and if they do get work they prevent others from getting it, and who got it before. Instead of diminishing the number of different works, they had more need to introduce more to assist the already unemployed. There were always some women who wrought at the top of the pits, and who pushed baskets, and shovelled in coals into carts, or put them into heaps, and they do so still. Why not stop these? Theirs is a worse occupation than that of those below, as they are exposed to cold and wet, and do the same as those below. It seems it must have been the fearful look of the place below, giving it a horrible and miserable appearance, that has unnerved and made to sympathize those who have assisted to deprive, for their benefit, a large and numerous class, and as comfortable, if not more so, than any in the country, of a means of supporting themselves without giving

them any substitute, and this for their benefit; and at the same time they have put their employers much about for the want of their services, and have also added to their expenses very much by their being obliged to get men at high wages to do light work, as men will not work for so low wages as women, and men are more scarce to be had for such employments, as they do not like to go down the pit unless they have been used to it; but if they get them they have nothing to learn. There is another grievance from this; the coals cost more from men being employed, and requiring higher wages.

According to returns made by Mr F. Neison, it has been stated that a clerk lives five years less than a plumber or painter, ten less than a miner, twenty years less than an agricultural labourer. Many suppose from this return that a clerk's occupation is very unhealthy; it is not particularly so, any more than most sedentary occupations; but clerks were, and generally are, a very dissipated and intemperate race, and their sedentary occupation is against this, and it is therefore owing to dissipation that it is unhealthy. The life of a plumber, painter, type-founder, and type-setter, or any worker in lead or mercury, may be greatly prolonged by being temperate, cleanly, well-fed, and by having plenty of fresh air, and washing their hands and face before eating, to take off the lead which they swallow; so may miners and all other dangerous and deleterious occupations.

We are astonished at the interference of the Legislature at the instigation of a few individuals, who laid their statement in the most pathetic and sympathising and strained manner before an enlightened audience, and gave a few cases of misery which they had seen in some illiterate and rude district; the misery might have happened from dissipation and carelessness, and not from the nature of their employment. Where you see misery in any other trade from dissipation, and see an untidy house, a ragged wife, and as ragged and starving children, apply to the Legislature and say that their employment is unfit for women, although the father may only be the cause of it, and does not work at the same employment as the women. These examples given were only exceptions to the general rule, where there might be squalidness and an outward appearance of misery, the Legislature might have tried to improve their condition by causing better houses if they were bad; but we do not think that they have a right to do this, at least it is not possible for them to have prevented the masters diminishing the workmen's wages, to pay for them, and they would be as badly off as ever; it is by the masters being able, by some means or other, to evade Legislative acts, that renders it useless to legislate for them in most cases, to better their condition, if it is at the expense of the master, as the master will not employ them unless on his own conditions, or he stops work, at any rate the workmen are always the worse of it; they may cause them to erect school-houses if they employ a certain number of men; but we suppose this is the most they can do, as they cannot oblige them to pay for a schoolmaster, as the coal may not be paying, at least no more than paying, as it was got on a bad lease; but if you were to compel them to pay in this case, they must cease to work, and throw out of employment a great number of men, and they both starve and want education. To prevent

Examples
seen and
given were
exceptions.

starving, you must do without compulsory education, and in these days the men have generally a desire to give education to their children, and will do it if they are able. We only speak with regard to making the master pay by a legislative enactment in works and manufactories of all kinds, but most masters find it for their interest to allow a house for a school, and to give so much money to the schoolmaster if his fees do not amount to a proper sum stated, and for which he has agreed to teach, and he generally takes off so much of the fees for each child attending from the father's wages, to make sure that he pays regularly. None of the children are compelled to attend, but they understand that it is the wish of the master, and that it is for the benefit of the child. (Some masters oblige the children to attend—others do not.)

Where the
Legislature
may inter-
fere.

The Legislature may compel masters to use proper means, and regular means for ventilating pits, as the improper and irregular ventilation is attended with loss of life, and it is the duty of the Legislature to see that this is properly attended to, and it is their duty to find out the best and cheapest and easiest modes of doing this, and issuing them to collieries and other works where the loss of life is likely to arise from the work being in operation, whatever that work may be. They have a right to interfere to cause proper supports for the roofs of pits, and the kind of supports necessary, and the distances they are to be placed from one another, which proper authorities on such subjects shall judge to be best. And it is also their duty to regulate other works in the same way. All other works whose operations may endanger life, it is their duty and right to order them to be carried on in the way which is likely to be attended with the least loss of life (if the profits will allow of that way being used or followed), coal mines, for instance. They may hinder the coal from being wrought by blasting and blowing up the coal with gunpowder, as they may enclose some at work, by the roof coming down, or destroy others, and destroy much life from its being below ground. In the same way the operations of other works which may and are attended with the loss of life. But to stop such a large body who did not wish it themselves, is doing a real injury to the subject, and stopping and interfering with the commercial operations of the master, and destroying one of his most powerful aids and supports, and without which he cannot go on, unless they are left to his free will, to be used when and where he pleases, so long as it is not attended with any real injury to the workmen. From such interference being liable to come on him at any time, it destroys his activity and all his energies, and by stopping his trade, it acts ruinously on a State which depends on its manufactures for its support and existence; we think it an invasion on their rights and freedom of action, and no woman or workman can depend on their present occupation, to which they were brought up, as a means of supporting them and their families, as they may suddenly be stopped from working at their usual occupations by an act of the Legislature, and being without another employment, besides not being accustomed to any but their own, they do not easily turn their hands to another, and if they are lucky enough to get employment, which is not too probable, they are not able to work like their fellow-workmen, and it may be long before they are able to make enough by it to supply their wants, and they

have always the chance when trade becomes dull to be the first to be payed off. Every one ought to be allowed to work at what he or she pleases, so long as there is no real danger to life. In this case there was no danger, or even ill-health from the occupation, and it was not a subject for interference, as they substituted no better employment for them but one of starvation.

There is only one employment with which we think the Legislature can interfere, or which they have a right to put a stop to, that is brothels and its unfortunate inmates. The Legislature might, with a better shew of reason and right, have suppressed and cleared large towns of such demoralizing, sinful, and corrupt nests of wickedness and disease. For them starvation would be better than their disreputable occupation. The French government, with great wisdom and care for the health of its subjects, looks after such places and its inmates; and finding that it cannot suppress them, at least we suppose so, although it was never tried, they know every inmate of such places, and every one is in a perfect state of health before they can get a pass to follow their immoral calling; and thus the health of the subject is preserved, and greater immorality is checked. However great a right the British Legislature, or any other government may have a right to suppress such places, the legislatures, even in this case endeavouring to suppress them, would be of no avail, and would only lead to public exposures of human weakness and frailty by bringing the transgressors of the law before legal tribunals for breaking and evading the law. Nothing but an improved state of the morals from childhood will have the effect of putting them down.

It is astonishing that the law should have been so stringent as not to allow the mining girls to work if they wished to do it themselves. If they had been compelled to work against their wills, then, we think, they might have applied to some of the courts of law for redress. If there had been danger, the Legislature had a right to interfere; but there was no danger to the women. The men are in more danger. Neither was the occupation unhealthy to the women, although in time it is so to the men, from the dust and particles of coal, as well as the bad air which they at times inhale, and they are more apt to inhale bad air from being confined to a confined place, which is not the case with the women; and the humane pleaders for the women must have included the females in the unhealthy statement of the men, and mixed up the one with the other, when such only happened to the men. By this universal sympathy, without a proper knowledge of the circumstances of the case, have a numerous and well-employed class been bereft of advantages which few in their place or station can now command; and it has set an example of interference on the part of the Legislature of subjects which the workmen themselves are the only and the best judges whether they will give up the occupation or not, and it is one which will cause great injury, by making commercial men cautious before forming engagements which may be interfered with before they are fulfilled.

Great danger and serious consequences are apt to arise, and cause evil and future bad results, by giving way to the sudden though genuine, yet thoughtless bursts of emotion and sympathy, which

Harm of giving way to the sudden bursts of feeling of the multitude.

often arise from individuals, either singly or collectively, and in the same way when in vast multitudes, as may be seen in the British nation. We have seen a great instance of their sympathy, yet well regulated and genuine; and it was something more than sympathy. It was a great national sacrifice which gave twenty millions of money to give freedom to the slaves of the British empire, and as an example to other nations, and for the benefit of the human race; but this sympathy which has been so beneficially used at so great an expense, is likely to be counteracted in its good effects by the same humane, and charitable, and liberal public, when their sympathy has cooled, and when their interest is likely to be improved by counteracting the first good effects, and rendering the enormous expense which they have been at, and which they are still yearly at, in the shape of vessels to put down the slave-trade, which causes such a great yearly expense and burden on the country already overburdened, and which is likely to be rendered ineffectual in its good results by the great desire to get cheaper sugar, and as good in quality as free-made sugar; and it is to be done by allowing slave-grown sugar to be brought and sold in Britain cheaper, or at least as cheap as to have a sale with free-made sugar; and to reduce it in price it must be so, or it will not cause cheaper sugar; and if it is the case, it will ruin and supersede the sugar of the British West Indies, as the planters there say they cannot compete with slave-grown markets; and such being the case, it will cause a greater activity in rearing and getting slaves, and will thus increase slavery and the slave-trade.

Sympathy of
the British
public in the
case of the
West India
planters.

It seems that the West India planters, although they got this immense sum to give liberty to their slaves, and to enable them to compete with slave states, as they say the slave states can make sugar, &c. cheaper than they can do without slave labour, as free labour is more expensive, and as they had a right to remuneration, which they had, as slaves were bought by them for so much a-head, and it might have been the year before this act for freeing slaves was passed, and they had the same right for remuneration as they would have had if the British Legislature and nation had taken their estates from them, or any other property, as slaves were always accounted property, and that from the first origin of the West Indies, and were sold in the same way; and if the Legislature took this property from them for their own use, or to throw away, they were bound to pay them for it at the value that kind of property brought at that time, and perhaps a little more than the actual value, if it were to depreciate their other property by such a forced seizure of it.

Slaves, sugar,
and the West
Indies.

Although the country is at a great yearly expense, besides the loss of the interest of the money which would arise from this compensation, and which would amount to a very large sum, and which they so much require, yet this sacrifice is likely to be rendered ineffectual, and is likely to give an impetus to the slave-trade, from the great desire to get cheaper sugar than they have at present, and in larger quantities, as it seems that slave states can produce it cheaper, and as good in quality as free-made sugar; but as the West India colonies cannot always give the quantity required, and this is a very great defect, and as it raises the price enormously,

by prohibiting slave-grown sugar regularly, even if we were to admit it at periods of scarcity, we cannot get it because they do not know when it is to be a year of scarcity, and they do not grow more than can usually get a sale for, for if they did, by increasing their establishments, and growing more sugar, they might be at a great and ruinous expense, and it might be years before there was a period of scarcity sufficient to overcome the humane scruples of the British public to admit slave-grown sugar.

It seems that the West Indian planters, although they got this immense compensation to give liberty to their slaves, do not find that they can make sufficient off their estates to allow of their reducing the price of sugar farther, and they even say they are selling it at what it costs them to make it, and even below it. Now, there can be little doubt if the South American kingdoms and slave-growing sugar States can at present produce sugar cheaper than the West Indian colonies, the estates of which are all so deeply mortgaged, which is one great cause of their not being able to make their sugar cheap; and as they pay such high interest on the money lent on their estates, it is more on this account, than the want of slaves, that they cannot make their sugar so cheap. No doubt, the want of slaves causes a greater expense, from free labour being more expensive, and the difficulty of getting it at times, from the listless and indolent habits of the negro race. As the negro will not work so long as he has just sufficient to keep him, but if you educate him, and instil into him new habits and principles, and encourage and stimulate him to exertion, and if you can once make him acquire habits and wants common to the enlightened, educated, and civilized, he will wish to get them, and will require to provide for these wants and comforts which he now finds necessary for his own use, as well as to be the same as those with whom he associates, if he is in a civilized country and free, and he therefore requires to work to provide for these wants, and to save sufficient to attain others which are not absolutely necessary, but which we may term luxuries, which are useful in soothing and civilizing and refining him, and also in educating his children, and to prevent him falling back into his old habits, if illness should lay hold on him, and without his having saved, want is a consequence which makes him lose the progressive step which he has gained, and from his indolent nature he does not readily regain it, from want of inclination to be at the trouble to do it.

It is only by so altering the negro's naturally indolent temperament which is common to all his race, that planters will be able to depend on them to work constantly and with regularity.

In the South American sugar States land is cheap, and is to be had almost for nothing, only population and labour is scarce without slaves; but even if they had no slaves, they could afford to give high wages, and sell their sugar cheaper than West Indian sugar, and there would be no chance of the West Indian colonies of Great Britain competing with them. It has been in contemplation to take the duty off slave-grown sugar to a certain extent, to allow of its being brought into the British market for the purpose of getting more sugar, and of getting it cheaper than it is at present. From this it must be supposed that West Indian sugar is not cheap

enough, neither is it in sufficient plenty, and according to the planters there they cannot make it cheaper, in fact they say they are selling it at a loss; and it is evident if the Legislature wish to take off the duty of slave-grown sugar, in order to give the people of Great Britain cheaper sugar, and more plentiful, it cannot be done without driving West Indian sugar out of the market, if we are to believe the planters' accounts of their profits. As the duty of slave sugar must be taken off to bring the price to less than the price of free sugar, in which case the free sugar of the West Indies will have no chance with the slave-grown sugar, but the slave planter will, by improvements, greatly cheapen his sugar, if you allow him to get it in even at a duty which makes his sugar even dearer than free sugar at present, and he will greatly increase the number of his slaves, and will try and run every risk to get them from Africa, and he will not be a loser although he loses a few cargoes by British cruisers, as the cheapness of his estates will allow of his paying a high price for them, and underselling West Indian free sugar, and in the course of years he will greatly increase his stock, by breeding and rearing and caring for them with the improvements of modern science and knowledge, and by thus carefully and greatly increasing them, he will in a few years greatly cheapen them. He will also get them from the United States for the purpose of breeding, and by care and proper attention to their health, and by not overworking them, they will have abundance of slaves within themselves, and not require to get them from Africa, and will thus increase the number of slaves, although not what is called the slave trade, which means the African trade. It was slavery that the British public wished to suppress, and not a particular branch of their traffic in slaves. At any rate, they may soon get plenty of free labourers, who for high wages will work, and they will be more than able to compete with the West India planters, by their getting their estates almost for nothing, and being free of debt, which last is the cause of the expensiveness of West Indian sugar, and instead of paying it off they are every year increasing it, and living in the extravagant manner that West India planters used to do, and from the constant depredations of their agents, who get money at low rates of interest and lend it out to their employers at a very enormous rate of interest; also from their mismanagement of their estates, from many proprietors being absentees and knowing nothing of what their agents were about. There is therefore no wonder that they cannot afford to sell their sugar cheaper, although on an unburdened estate it can be made cheap enough, and on such they can, when they have a bad season, from their making it at little expense, afford to sell it cheap. But the West India planter, by having a bad year, raises his sugar proportionally high, to make up for the failure and to pay for the high interest on his mortgages. It might be said all were not mortgaged, yet they who are not take the highest price that is going, as well as the others, as in Britain they cannot get it, or could not get it otherwise, and there being no competition, those who can afford to buy it are glad to take it at any price, although they may sell it to retail customers without profit, as it is an article in the grocery line which it is necessary to have, and is always in demand, and if they did not keep

Causes of
West India
planters not
being able to
compete with
others.

it their customers would go and get it elsewhere, and get their other articles where they got this, and make one place do for all.

There is no doubt, to allow slave-grown sugar to be purchased by the natives of Great Britain, the effect must be to destroy the trade of the West Indies; and planters themselves are alone to blame for not being able to sell it cheaper, as they so burdened their estates from believing that their trade was to continue a monopoly for ever, and that, from having no opposition, they would get what prices they pleased, and as they got in debt so they raised or kept up the prices, under all the cheapening means and processes for growing and making sugar in modern times, and they always laid every mortgage which they put on the estate, as a part of the expense of growing and making sugar, and increased the price of the sugar with the number of mortgages they put on the estate, and the higher the interest of these, the higher was the price of sugar. And if any one is fool enough to buy the estates, now at a price far above their worth, he requires to make a certain per-centage off the sale of the products of the estate, to the amount which he thinks he should make yearly from the principal he has paid for the estate, and he raises the price of sugar to realize this sum, and if he gets this he says that he is paying the expenses of the working of the sugar and the capital he has laid out on it. But if he cannot realize this sum, he says he cannot grow sugar at that price—it is not paying the expenses of producing it; and if the British Legislature wishes the prices lower, as they can get it far cheaper elsewhere, he says it will ruin him, which no doubt is very likely, as he has paid too high a price for his property, and he alone is to blame. Or it may be that he has burdened his estate so much that his produce will not realize as much as will pay the interest of these, and he says his crop will not pay the cultivation of it; but it paid it well enough before he mortgaged his estate to pay for his own extravagance, and perhaps for his gambling debts, and he alone is to blame; and if he had not mortgaged his estate he would not have feared competition. If he had mortgaged his property to improve it for the purposes of cultivation, and for improved modes to increase and improve his crops, then he might have complained, and tried to have a benefit over foreign sugar States, and more especially slave-grown sugar States; but such not being the case, they cannot expect a monopoly for ever, to the loss of the whole British nation, and other colonies which have as good, if not a better right to get an equal right of importing it into Great Britain as they have.

Unless the duty of slave-grown sugar is reduced to allow of its being sold in competition or equally with West Indian, it is of no use giving them the privilege for the purpose of supplying a scarcity of West Indian. If it is not admitted regularly, it is not to be depended on; and if it is admitted by a treaty for a length of time for a duty a little lower, they will by one means and another be able to beat West India sugar out of the market, and they will as a great means greatly enlarge the number of slaves, and try every means in their power to get them; and really after the great indignation, and the great and unheard-of sympathy, and the universal bursts of compassion and pity, and the many eloquent and melting

The allowing of slave-grown sugar to compete on nearly equal terms with West India, will destroy West India trade as it is.

harangues, which, in eloquence, outvied that of the ancient orators, and the universal response which was given to these throughout the whole of Great Britain, and we might say by the British, with the exception of a few of the West India planters, after such universal agreement, and after paying so much as a proof of their belief in its immorality, and after and still continuing to pay so much yearly, —it would hold up the sympathy of the British public to the other nations of Europe and the planters of the West Indies, as the objects of the most foolish extravagance, and the greatest and strangest inconsistency of humanity and sympathy, as were ever seen since the beginning of the world, to allow of slave-grown sugars being admitted on any terms, be they high or low.

Better than encourage slave-grown sugar, and to preserve the consistency of the sympathetic and humane feelings of the British public, and not to allow so much money, and so many eloquent and melting harangues, and so many tears to have been shed all for no purpose but that of a little exciting amusement, it would be better to give and shew justice to our East Indian possessions, if you mean to stop the West Indian trade, or let them take their chance after so long a monopoly of the sugar trade. It is better to give the preference to the East Indies, which, as a matter of justice, has a better right than slave-growing and foreign States to be preferred, and has an equal right with the West Indies, if not better, and it has a preference before a foreign State, although it may not grow slave sugar; it ought to get its sugar admitted at the same duty as West India sugar, if not a less duty, to allow of its competing equally with the sugar of other parts of the British empire.

East Indies
and sugar.

From the immense number of labourers in the East Indies, who are different from the negro race, as they are endowed with superior intellect, are not slothful in their nature, or indolent, but are active and willing to work, and simple in their habits, and their diet costs so little, and they work so cheaply, and there are so many of them, that there is no doubt the East Indies could and would beat down opposition from all quarters, whether they grow slave or free sugar, and we could get sugar cheaper than ever we got it. There is no doubt the carriage is long, but the price of this would be reduced by the immense number of labourers and the cheapness of the land, and from there being no mortgages on it, which is the great drawback on the West India estates more than from the want of labour and the expense of it; and to diminish the expense of carriage from the East Indies, it would of course be sent here refined, and in its greatest state of purity, and any duty on it would be no more than was requisite to support and keep up the government of the country, which would be according to the expense that the sugar manufacturing was likely to cost the country for its protection.

Great incon-
sistency of ad-
mitting slave
sugar.

Let the duty on slave-grown sugar be high or low, or the sugar cheap or high in price, they cannot admit it without exposing themselves to inconsistency, and shewing their folly and absurdity to all nations, as people whose humanity and sympathy is evanescent, and not to be depended on when their own private interests are affected; and their sympathy is likely to cause the nation to be burdened with enormous expenses from their extravagant and great

and sudden sympathy, which turns out to be penny-wise on cooling. There is no use to admit slave-grown sugar when we have the East Indies, which we ought to encourage, and which has been and is and will be an enormous and never-failing market for our manufactures, and we ought to improve and encourage it, and ameliorate its condition as much as possible; and by so doing we are always benefiting our own country. It is a market which will not readily fail when all other markets fail and are failing us. We have of late years been gradually losing our markets and traffic in a great many countries—as the continent of Europe; our trade with the United States is also diminished, and our once lucrative trade with the Brazils and the South American kingdoms has also diminished, and it would be better at once to sacrifice and to make a sacrifice of other parts of the kingdom, as there is no appearance of improving them but by giving them a monopoly by injuring some, and keeping down and back others, and at the expense of all, and especially as it has been more a burden for a great length of time than any thing else, and is not likely ever to be otherwise; and if it cannot take its chance with the others, it ought not to be supported and propped up, without any chance of being bettered, at the expense and to the injury of all. We ought therefore to encourage and admit all the productions of India in as free and liberal a manner as it is possible with the good government of the country—not that we ought to do it at the expense of any of our older colonies, and which are nearer, and which although they may not repay our governing and keeping them, yet ought to be preserved, as they are outlets for our manufactures, and in this way they repay the expense of their being governed. They are also convenient as stations and depôts, and rallying points in time of war with neighbouring countries, and are convenient as places of safety, from which our troops can issue forth and retreat and get assistance, instead of living entirely in an enemy's country at the mercy of the inhabitants for every thing. Upper and Lower Canada is such a country. We ought to develop the great and inexhaustible resources of India. It is a country which has as good a right as Great Britain itself to any favour and encouragement that can be given. It has been a continual source of wealth, and a means of employment for the inhabitants of Great Britain, and has a better right than most of them, for her own interest and for the interest of her starving inhabitants. They ought to tend, watch, foster, and preserve her, as she may yet be a great means of employing her starving and overpeopled cities. Railroads will be one of the best and greatest means ever used for developing her varied and inexhaustible resources, and for civilizing and rendering her more easily governed.

The multitude are very apt to be excited and stimulated to do great harm at the instigation of interested individuals, who, on pretence of doing it for their benefit, are only working for their own ends, and private benefit and aggrandisement, and these are liable to get such a power over their passions and hopes, that they direct them blindly for long years, and think and act for them. The multitude easily excited by interested individuals.

In the same way statesmen and legislatures, and individuals are apt to give way to the multitude, not from feeling or excitement, but from a desire to get rid of their annoyance, although they have Giving way to the multitude to get rid of their annoyance.

There is no
satisfying the
multitude.

a conviction that their desires are not well founded, and that harm will result from giving way to their wishes, however small, and do not resist them with sufficient firmness, because they suppose they will have their own way, and it is better to give them it at once. But this giving way to them is too frequently done, when with a little more firmness they might have prevented it, and by doing so prevented serious consequences. There are also times when most and all are agreed that the giving way to the desires of the multitude will be injurious, yet some of these, from too much sympathy, and others from not wishing to be troubled or annoyed by their frequent desires, and many from a desire to please and flatter the multitude, to get a measure their own way, grant a part, thinking to satisfy the multitude, or thinking that what they give them will turn out bad, or some other circumstances will render it harmless; but the multitude, after getting a part, wish for more, as the part has done no good, or from its having done good, but not sufficient, so they get a piece more, because the legislators, or subservient or humane persons, fancy that this will not do harm, and lose sight of the first part that has been granted, never looking back, but always before, and the more that is given, the readier is more granted, as by only looking forward, they see less danger from the measure than when they saw the whole evil of the measure, and they thus go on granting the whole measure bit by bit, until they grant the whole; and when they give the last bit, they say they may as well give this, and the whole measure, as it will not do much more harm; and by this time every one who was at first strongly opposed to give any part of the measure, and who thought and believed it was to be the ruin of the empire, also yielded. Such was the case with the Reform Bill, and there is little doubt of all measures—it is one, if carried out to its whole length, will lead sooner to the destruction of the empire than any other. For example, if they grant universal suffrage, which may be considered a part and an end of the Reform Bill. Now, as this universal suffrage puts into the hands of the majority of the people the power to elect members of Parliament, and as this majority consists principally of those who fancy they may gain much by getting things their own way, but have nothing to lose if their schemes do not succeed, although in this they are mistaken, as by the ruin of the upper classes, as manufacturers, &c. they are at length left to starve, although they may succeed for a time. Such is the majority of universal suffrage in this overpeopled, starving, and manufacturing country, and such being the case, it cannot be otherwise, and it is according to the nature of things, and according to the experience of the past, they have the choice of the majority of members to Parliament; they put in men who are like themselves, and who belong to their own class, and who advocate measures which are for their own good, and such measures as the mob may direct, and which are utterly at variance with the good of the country; and amongst the favourite measures is that of taking off taxes, and from this, if the peers oppose any of their measures, they will have no House of Peers, or at first peers for life, and then peers to serve five or seven years, or three, or one year, as they will likely have the duration of the House of Commons, or the Assembly of the People, as it will be termed.

From this they will go on to that last piece of government before ruin comes on, which is called Republicanism, and which is the favourite government of all mobs in its various shapes, from its beginning until its termination, when again the country becomes the prey of some foreign power, or becomes divided into petty States, either republican of some kind or other, or kingly States, or, as most frequently happens, the kingdom again rises as a kingly and absolute monarchy, with a military king; and lastly, it becomes a constitutional or moderate monarchy, under its ancient sovereigns, or others of fame, and talent, and moderation.

Some measures which were considered to be favourable, from having been sought for at a favourable period, have afterwards turned out to be unfavourable when brought to bear against these unfavourable circumstances.

A measure may be a good measure, but it may not suit a large class, and the measure may prove the ruin of this last class. though it is hurtful to them, yet if it were not passed, it might do greater injury to a greater number in whose favour it has been passed, but such measures must be ameliorated, and lose their bad effects as much as possible, by being gradually carried into force, and time given for all parties to make arrangements, to be prepared to meet its coming into force, and by this means the party to lose have time to get rid of their stock, or to use means to improve it and to make the necessary alterations. If such acts were made suddenly, as where a person has a large stock of any kind of goods, which he has got up at great expense, and on which there is a high duty; if this duty is to be taken off quickly, it might ruin him by others making goods of the same kind and underselling him, and by this a very large and wealthy class might be entirely ruined. Where such measures are, they should not come into effect all at once, but gradually; the duty ought to be taken off gradually, as well as plenty of time ought to be given before it comes into force, where any are likely to be losers by it.

Measures may be granted unwillingly by all, but a great part of the measure being granted, they delay to grant the rest, which, if they had done earlier, it might have taken away from the harm of passing such a measure.

The multitude are very apt to try to bind members of Parliament to certain measures which they wish, and do not allow them to extend, enlarge, diminish, or repeal these measures, if they think circumstances require that they should be so altered in their opinion; but they so fix them that they make their first agreement and idea of the measure as final. It may be so for years, and may be so termed at the time, but it may be that such a measure requires to be altered, or even repealed, if circumstances require it, and if it has not been found to have suited the purpose, and there are many subjects which may require alteration which constituencies do not understand so well as their members, and it cannot be expected that members will make a promise to adhere to a measure which by all, because it has been passed, has been considered final. A member may say he will vote and advocate a measure, and may do so, but it does not follow from this that he is not to vote for an enlargement of the measure if he should think it necessary; but it may

happen he has voted for a measure, but owing to circumstances it requires to be repealed according to his opinion, but not the opinion of his constituency; if he votes for its repeal, it cannot be said that he has broken faith with his constituency. A person may advocate a measure at one time, and owing to certain circumstances which may give him a different view of the matter, may strongly oppose such a measure: better to change his mind and oppose a measure which is hurtful, than to preserve a false consistency, which, by so doing, he knows, or at least supposes, from his own ideas of the matter, that injury will arise either presently or at a future period.

There are many who at one time oppose a measure—it may be at first, or it may be for a very long period, it may be for years, but by some means or other they get and take a different view of the matter, or there may occur circumstances which require such a measure, or circumstances which will now favour it, and will prevent its injurious effects, and they now as strongly advocate the measure. Now it is very common for political opponents and the multitude to say that such persons are inconsistent for changing their first opinions, whether it be in their own favour or not; if persons were not to change their opinions according to the improvements of the times, or as circumstances suggested, great evil would arise, and the world be at a stand-still: all opinions are liable to be changed as circumstances turn out to favour or to do harm to measures which no one can clearly foresee, and some less than others, and it is impossible for constituencies to bind members to a permanency of opinion, or charge them with inconsistency if they change their opinions; however there are persons who may be said to have no opinions, or rather they have no firmness or judgment or discrimination, and they change their opinions as every one suggests to them, and are always changing it, and no one can depend on them for to get a true state of matters from their advocating or not a measure. There are some who change their opinions from interested motives, but as it often happens that such being the case, their opinion is not to be depended on as a true opinion, although it is more than likely they can give a true and just opinion according as things at present are, but from a desire in some and very many cases to be made members of Parliament, from which they expect much, they will follow the opinion of the rabble rather than follow or keep their own sound opinion, expecting that the bad effects of the opinion of the rabble will be counteracted and prevented from being followed by evil results by some favourable circumstances, or they fancy the measure will be thrown out by a majority, and no evil will arise, and they will please their constituents and get their votes. Or they suppose to themselves that this one measure will not do much harm, and they go on saying the same thing to every other bad measure which they disapprove of, but advocate, and this goes on from generation to generation, and thus they go on doing harm, and setting the example to others who do not think for themselves, or who cannot, and follow the example of others, be they right or wrong; such is the way with the rabble.

A measure may be granted unwillingly by the majority, but a

great part of the measure being granted, they do injury by delaying to grant the rest, which, if they had not done, and had taken advantage of certain favourable circumstances, might have taken away from the harm, at least a part of it in many cases, of passing such a measure; such was the case with the corn-laws.

There are some measures which are expected to benefit both parties, as they may terminate in favour of the one or the other. The measure may be necessary, or it may be believed that it is necessary for one party; but it is almost positively known that it will cause a loss to the other. In such a case it is difficult to decide whether to pass a measure, which is to cause great loss to a part of the State, and in whose hands there is the greatest portion of permanent capital, and from whom, and by whom, manufactures arise, in favour of a party or branch of the State who keep up and support the State and the landed interest, and without whom the landed interest and the State could not exist. Such is the manufacturing interest of Great Britain, if one were certain that corn-laws, or any other measure, which was thought to be hurtful to the manufacturing interest, and especially the workmen and labourers, who are the great supporters of the landed interest, from buying the produce of their estates, but if they were repealed, that they would do great injury to the landed interest, in whose hands lie so great an amount of capital always ready to start and support manufactures, and from whom manufactures originated as a means of employing their surplus capital, and supporting and increasing the fortunes, and employing the younger branches of their families. It therefore requires great foresight, judgment, prudence, and caution, and years of trial and experience, in such a case to decide which is to be favoured. There is little doubt that the party wishing for the favour, and expecting the benefit, as, for instance, the manufacturers, and especially the working-classes, that they will give a hasty judgment, and a very favourable one in their own behalf, without taking into account the loss that is to arise to the other party, and by not looking far enough and closer into the matter, they do not see the future losses to themselves, at the expense of present benefit, in not allowing some favourable drawback to those who are to be the sufferers; for it is impossible, if labour is cheaper and more plentiful abroad than in Great Britain, that we can grow grain so cheap here; or if the taxes are far below what we have them here. We may instance a single tax, in the shape of poor's-rates to support the working-classes, which comes off the land, and there are many others which foreigners have not, and which allows them to sell their grain cheaper. Property is not half so expensive abroad, from their being plenty of land, which is not the case in Great Britain; and they can sell their grain a great deal cheaper than Great Britain on this account.

If the corn-laws, or any other laws or restrictions, or what are considered so, are a means of starving or keeping the labouring or working-classes from getting a sufficient quantity of food to support them, from the wages being too small to buy more, as the competition and low profits of the manufacturer will not allow of their getting more, and if the landed interest cannot find it in their power to lower the rents of their farms and reduce the price of

grain, by trying every means in their power to increase the quantity of grain and the rents, by taking in and cultivating waste lands; and if by this means, and using all other means in their power of enlarging their crops, both in quantity and quality, on a smaller space of ground—by using and trying all the known and new modes of maturing the crops and fertilizing the soil, and preserving the crops in unfavourable years, and under unfavourable circumstances—if after doing all this, which will require years, and where so much is likely to be lost, they ought to be allowed time to try it, and to allow the farmer's lease to run out or be lowered, as he cannot have the same advantage by a repeal of the laws which were unexpected, and he cannot diminish his price accordingly; and if they find after doing all this that they cannot lower their rents and the price of grain to give the people a chance of subsisting, it is no doubt not for the good of the landed interest, who depend on the workmen to buy their produce, that the duty should be taken off; and it is for the good of the workmen, who must live, and cannot live at the wages he at present gets, which the manufacturer finds it impossible to raise from foreign competition causing small profits, and the workman cannot buy the high-priced grain of Great Britain, as from the price of their estates, and even by all the improvements in their power, proprietors cannot cheapen it, or are unwilling to do it, or it may be the tenants who are unable to do it even in good years, and even keep up the prices then, as it takes these high prices in good years to make up for the bad; at any rate, whatever be the reason, it is necessary for the workman to be supported, and it seems that the high price of grain of this country does not allow him to do it. If such be the case, they must try and get it elsewhere, and this is done by allowing foreign grain to compete with British, and it can be sold cheaper, as labour, taxes, and property are not so high as in Great Britain. However, the workman will not get the advantage that he expects from this—the manufacturer will not even reap much advantage from it, but it may be a means of allowing the manufacturer to compete better in certain years with the foreign manufacturer, and will allow the workman to be employed.

A certain preference of the landed interest over the foreign grower.

The landed interest ought to have some preference over the foreign grower, in order to encourage him and to assist in lightening the loss likely to arise from foreign competition, and grain being grown cheaper abroad, and also to make him keep his land in cultivation in case of years of scarcity abroad, and when there might be plenty at home, as in such a case he may preserve the manufacturers from starving, as well as the workmen from a scarcity causing too high prices.

Advantages gained if the corn-laws had been repealed sooner.

If the repeal of the corn-laws had taken place sooner, it might have prevented the formation of the League amongst the continental States to encourage manufactures in their own country, by prohibiting British manufactures it was hastened by the British Government refusing to admit foreign grain unless at a high duty; and many of them agreed to reduce the duty on British wares if this Government would diminish the duty on their grain; but not getting it at that time at a lower duty, they formed the League called the Zollverein. But as the British Legislature was compelled to repeal the corn-laws, they did it without getting the

benefit of their goods being admitted into many of the corn-growing States at a reduced duty, as they might have done, if they had passed it sooner without being compelled to do it for themselves, and not as a means of getting lower duties from foreign States. Even a short time before the passing of it, some good and benefit might have arisen from it by applying to the Continental League and other Powers for some diminution of the duty on goods, if we admitted their grain at a reduced duty; but this was not done. But this is not the only advantage lost—we have lost the opportunity of selling and manufacturing for the continental States, and keeping them from manufacturing for themselves, which we could have done if the German League had not been formed, which Napoleon himself, with all his power, could not construct to prohibit our goods as they have done and are doing; and we might have prevented it at first by granting them a diminution of the corn-duties, and we would have got our goods entered at a lower duty instead of the duty being raised, and we would have been enabled to manufacture our goods cheaper, and of a far superior quality. We would have been enabled to undersell and beat out of the market any native manufacturers, as no one would take their bad and dear articles so long as they could get better, although they might even be dearer, as they would last all the longer and look better. The look of an article has often a greater effect in getting a purchaser than the quality, if it is not grossly bad. We could sell them cheaper, because their men at the trade, being less expert and slower, and less elegant in making them. By their not getting their articles sold, the trade would gradually decay, and the loss arising from expenses consequent on such, but if once set agoing as they now are, and in a fair way of making articles as good as ours, if not so elegant, and always improving, it is not likely we will ever regain the opportunity of being manufacturers for them. It may be for a time—we may be so from some newly-invented article; but being manufacturers themselves, they will soon imitate and make a perfect article for themselves, and in time they will and are competing with us in the New World. Their articles may not be so elegant, but they are cheaper, now that they have been manufacturing for a long time. They are cheaper, because they have a large population to support and to employ, and they can live cheaper than we can, and their Governments find it is the only way to employ them and keep them from starving; and they therefore encourage them, and by so doing enrich themselves instead of impoverishing their kingdoms; and they, seeing the wealth and advantage derived by this country from her manufactures, only follow a good example.

At one time America, Austria, and Russia offered to lower their duties, if Britain would lower the duty on grain imported into this country. It might have been done with great benefit to this country, but with no great benefit to these countries together. It might in certain seasons have done good to one country; but this might depend on our harvest, but it was impossible to do much benefit to the whole, as we could not and did not require to buy grain from them all. Although we had no grain, the grain of one might serve our purpose; and if we had agreed to take it equally from all, it would have scarcely caused the benefit to any to be felt. It

might have done injury to some of these countries, indeed to all, by retarding their manufactures by our underselling them; to some it would have proved injurious, as they might have been at great expense to make improvements, and might grow more grain than was required for this country; and this being the case, they would undersell one another, and those who did not get their grain sold would have no use for it, as it was grown for this market. This may happen yet, each expecting to be the suppliers, and growing immense quantities and not selling it, as it is more than is required; and the better the harvest, the likelier is it to happen. Foreign nations have an exaggerated idea of our requiring and using very immense quantities of grain, and from this notion they are likely to grow much more than is really required.

The people of Great Britain will be worse off in a year of famine by the repeal of the corn-laws than before it.

In a year of famine in this country the people will be worse off than they were before the repeal of the corn-laws. If the soil of this country is thrown out of cultivation, as it may be, or it may not be, by our getting our grain by this great opposition of foreign powers cheaper from these than we can from the home-growers. If it should happen to be a bad season abroad, by our own country not being cultivated, we are left without provisions by depending on foreign countries for a supply. Now, if the land had been fully cultivated we might have had plenty, as the harvest might have been a good one in this country, although it was bad abroad; the weather might be favourable in our country, though bad abroad; but by depending on foreign countries for our supplies, from not being able to compete with them from land, labour, and other expenses being higher here than abroad, and we are left destitute and famishing; or it may happen that the weather is good, and every thing favourable for a good harvest both here and abroad. But the crops may be destroyed by some insect abroad, which has not affected our crops; but as we have not cultivated largely, and have depended on foreign supplies, we are left without food; or it may be America may be able to undersell Russia, &c., and the Russians having for a year or two cultivated more grain than sufficient to supply Britain, have lost all this grain by Britain buying American grain cheaper; Russia therefore getting no advantage but loss from cultivating for the British market, gives over growing grain more than sufficient for her own wants next year; and this year the American harvest is bad from the weather being unfavourable, or from an insect destroying the grain. The same may happen with Russia instead of America; but by our not cultivating grain, and by depending on a foreign supply, we are left to starve, or pay enormous prices for grain.

Assistant means of preventing the injurious effects of the repeal of the corn-laws to farmers.

If British agriculturists find that they cannot regularly compete with foreign growers, they will turn their attention to the rearing of cattle, and turn their lands into pasture and grazing lands, and they may by this means save themselves, and at the same time cultivate a certain portion of their land, as the whole of the present cultivated land would be a great deal more than sufficient to graze all the cattle that are required; but even such a quantity being put out of cultivation would, in bad years abroad and good here, render us helpless, and dependent for food on foreign countries. There is no doubt we would beat foreign cattle out of the market

by our superior breed ; but if they thought it worth their breeding, they would undersell us there also, from having plenty of cheap land, although they would get a good sale in France and elsewhere, which are not beef-eating countries, but which might become that ; but we think this country would have an advantage over them and others in our contiguity to France, and our being able to send it killed and fresh, and of the finest quality that it is possible for man to get. It could be sent from Edinburgh to Paris in twenty-four hours, or at the most thirty hours. By breeding more cattle, butcher-meat might be got a great deal cheaper, and yet pay the rearer very well. A good stock will always bring a good price, whether cattle are plentiful or not, and by being cheaper more will buy meat. We might say millions who do not buy meat now would buy it then. A workman with a certain portion of animal food daily will work longer and better than one who gets none.

Workmen fancy that they will get more food by the repeal of the corn-laws, but in this they are greatly mistaken ; as in years of plenty, and they may know from their own experience that their masters will reduce their wages as food is cheap, but they will not, and are not easily able to raise them when food is scarce. The reason why manufacturers desired the repeal of the corn-laws is a sufficient reason for supposing that they will reduce the wages, which was to get food cheaper for their workmen, as they could not raise their wages, that they were then higher than they could easily afford to give them, which meant plainly enough, we wish to reduce your wages further, and we can do that if we can give you cheaper food ; now a farther reduction of wages would perhaps give the workman no more, but the same quantity of food, as it is cheaper by the repeal of the corn-laws, than he got when they existed.

Wages are easily reduced, but they are not easily raised when food is scarce, as masters are obliged by competition both at home and abroad, to be able to reduce the price of their goods, as every master is striving to undersell the other, and if a few do it, all require to do it ; and profits being so low at present from competition, the master is obliged to reduce their wages to keep them going, or to stop the work and leave the workmen to starve, if they will not take lower wages ; it is impossible that it can be otherwise, from home, and especially from foreign competition.

It is easy to reduce the price of goods, but it is not easy to raise them if once down, as purchasers are not fond of paying a higher price for an article which they perhaps got for years at a less price, and will rather take a substitute, or wait till prices are as formerly, as they think perhaps that the article is not worth the price : also, foreign manufacturers have reduced their prices, and they can better afford to do it, and they being still able to do so, do not raise them, so that the British manufacturer, being the first to reduce them, is not able to raise them again, although food is scarcer, as he cannot compete with the foreign manufacturer, who would undersell him, and leave his goods on his hands ; so he must keep the wages as low as when there was plenty of food, or give up his work and allow his men to starve, instead of half starving.

Workmen better off in years of famine without a repeal, than in years of famine with a repeal.

Workmen were better off in years of famine before the corn-laws were repealed, than they will be in years of famine by the reduction of the corn-laws, always supposing that there is a reduction of the wages by the repeal of the corn-laws, of which there can be no doubt;—it would be a matter of wonder if it were not the case, such is the tendency of things at present in Great Britain. We will give fictitious wages, to make it more understandable. Say the wages were a shilling a-day before the repeal of the corn-laws in a year of famine; this will buy a shilling's worth of provisions: but the wages where the corn-law is repealed are reduced, say to tenpence, as you can now buy as much for tenpence as you could do before for a shilling; but now the corn-law is repealed, and there is a famine, and wages having rather a tendency to fall than to rise, and if the trade is dull in the year of famine, before the corn-law is repealed, and in the year of famine when it is repealed, the workman is worse off in the famine of the repealed corn-law, as he has only tenpence to buy provisions, and being a famine in both cases, provisions are equally scarce, and the workman as better off in years of scarcity and famine and dull trade before the corn-laws were repealed, than he will be in years of famine and dull trade, when the corn-laws are repealed; both cases being similar and food being equally scarce and dear, and trade equally dull, he is therefore better off with a shilling than with tenpence in a year of scarcity.

It was at periods of famine that the workman complained most of the corn-laws, and therefore he will be worse off than ever. Let it always be understood, as any person will easily see, and most know, that as the price of provisions decreases, the manufacturer, from competition, diminishes the wages, and that it is in the nature of trade as Britain is now circumstanced that a rise in the price of wages and of goods, when once lowered, is now a matter of great difficulty: the goods will not be bought, as foreign manufacturers will sell them cheaper, and this causes the low wages to remain and never to rise, and it must be understood that these wages are just so much as in the unrepealed and in the repealed corn-law as are just sufficient to support life; in the former, the provisions being higher, the manufacturer must give as much as support the workman; in the latter, the provisions being cheaper, he gives less wages, but as much as before, that is to say, they buy the same quantity of provisions, and he suits or diminishes the price of his goods to these wages, to oppose and compete with foreign manufacturers, and they also suit and diminish their prices accordingly to undersell him, and are able to do it, and at a better profit than he can; and they are able to do this in years of scarcity and in years of plenty, when the wages were low, and when they were high, being alike (that is, buying the same quantity of provisions), and trade dull, the wages cannot be raised, but are perhaps kept from being diminished, as the workman cannot live on less; and this being the case, a workman is better off in years of famine and dull trade with the corn-laws, than he is in years of famine and dull trade by their repeal.

The repeal of the corn-laws will give rise to a very great deal of gambling from the uncertain state of the harvests both here and abroad, and will cause great and serious losses to those speculating in them; and we have plenty examples of it already. It will always be a very hazardous business to those who have not opportunities of getting quick and frequent communications from foreign grain-growing countries.

The repeal of the corn-laws will give rise to much gambling, speculation, and ruin.

During the late session of Parliament a very important measure was passed, and one which is likely to cause and to be a source of great loss and inconvenience to masters, and will cause great loss to workmen; and is one which is a bad precedent, by allowing of like measures being brought forward and passed to the very great injury of the British nation. It is one which is likely in the present state and under the present circumstances of the trade, to do great and permanent injury if it is persisted in, and to put a stop to the commercial improvement and advancement of the manufacturers, as well as to cause great evil, misery, and starvation to the workman.

TIME OF
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REGULATION.

It is a measure which is likely to put a stop to the increase and improvement and farther prosperity of the trade of Great Britain; it will be a constant drag on the energy of the manufacturer; it prevents him making up his losses in the trade when an opportunity offers; it prevents the workman from saving and laying up for times of scarcity, and when trade is low; it keeps him always down; it is a measure which will take away from Britain her great commercial and manufacturing superiority amongst the nations of Europe, and also the United States of America, who are rapidly progressing and improving in manufactures, assisted as they are by British workmen and masters, which superiority if she loses by this measure, as it has as great if not a greater tendency than any thing else that we are acquainted with, even than dear food and cheaper labour abroad, but this will even increase the price of labour, which they should have striven rather to diminish.

This important measure of regulating the time of labour, whether the master or workman wish it or not, if they should require to extend the time, is one destructive of all commercial prosperity, and unheard of in any age, and which has so suddenly burst forth for the first time since the creation, unless in a few rare and single instances of some petty tyrant or lord of a manor, but never in the case of a free nation. Some might instance the Jews while in Egypt, but they might be said to be slaves; but, in Britain, it is the case of a free, and the most enlightened, and the wealthiest and most powerful and liberal nation since the beginning of the world. This measure has arisen not from party motives, but from pure, genuine, and unadulterated sympathy of the mover and many of the supporters of the measure, and almost all have agreed to it—the legislator, many of the masters, and a great number of the workmen; but it was believed it was to be the workman who was

Destructive of all commercial prosperity.

to be benefited, and it was for his benefit alone that the sympathising leader of the measure got up the bill.

An example of
thoughtless
humanity.

The measure is one of the offspring of a very humane and philanthropic individual, but one who has attended more to his own sympathising feelings and views of the subject, and only to the surface of it, than to the future benefit of the workman, and the prosperity of the British empire. There is no doubt it is true benevolence on his part and many others, but we often find those who are truly benevolent are often bad judges of the future consequences of their measures, unless they have a past precedent that future good will result from it. In this case there was no past precedent, unless that to compel the girls who work in mines to work there no longer. In this case they only increased the number of idle hands, and added them to the number of the starving. The bill for regulating the hours of labour, like that of the mining girls, was got up by Lord Ashley, but when first brought forward did not meet with a very great reception by his brother legislators; but on trying it again, many who formerly thought it wrong did not now oppose it, for what reason we do not rightly understand, unless by supposing, without considering the matter, that it must be right, because they may have seen masters, workmen, and legislators agreeing that it was right; but we suppose that many who gave their opinion at first against it, and who afterwards changed it in favour of the measure, did it because they saw every one else doing it, and that in the course of time it would effect its own cure; if they did so, which we do not know, or ever heard any say, that they did it for any other reason than that it was a humane measure; or perhaps they might suppose their constituents might consider them guilty of want of feeling and inhuman, or it might be their constituents considered it a necessary measure, and required them to vote for it, and if they did not, they would turn them out of their seats, and they voted for the measure although it was against their true conviction, because it was near the close of an old Parliament, and they might do it the readier, and at the same time please their constituents, because they thought it would cure itself; but if they did it because they thought it would cure itself, they had done and permitted a very great and serious injury when they might and ought to have stopped it at once, instead of allowing it to go on, because they supposed it would cure itself, from exposing in its operation its evil results; but they are highly to blame in doing this, as it is better to assist in preventing an evil than allowing the evil to go on, and stopping of its own accord, as it were, from the great and perhaps irremediable evil or evils which it is causing and has caused. In the case of this measure it is likely to have very great and fatal effects on the commerce of Great Britain, and on the manufacturers, and through them on the workmen, and by their suffering, the agricultural interest, whose produce they buy; and it is likely to be attended with fatal effects, present and future, to the commercial interests of this country, before its evil effects work its cure, and even this may never occur; there is an old and true saying or proverb, although proverbs by some may be considered vulgar, but in the case of this one it is true and very applicable to this measure, and it is—"Never do an evil that good may come or

follow ;" before the good may come, the evil which has been done to effect it may have destroyed and prevented a great part of the good or benefit which it was intended to produce.

In this measure the evil has been done in part, and it will cause an increased vigour and extension of foreign manufactures from the stopping and regulating the time of labour by compulsory means, and labour cannot be fixed without injury to trade, and of which the manufacturer and the workmen are alone able to judge best when the hours are to be longer or shorter, and this depends entirely on the manufacturer's sale. Now by the time this evil has wrought its own cure, it will have done so much evil that it will have destroyed and made bad worse before it has effected a cure, which after all will be no cure, although it has left things as they were formerly.

The humanity-bill of Lord Ashley to regulate the time that workmen should labour is one which will work its own repeal, or it will do great harm and injury to the workmen and the manufacturer. You may as well order the manufacturer to give fixed wages to his workmen, which is impossible, as that depends on the state of trade, and on the competition and opposition that the manufacturer may have, and also on the plenty and scarcity of trade ; and it is the same with labour, as labour is money to the workman and manufacturer. The longer the workman labours the more he gets, and the larger the quantity, or the more the manufacturer manufactures, the more he gets, and the better able is he to pay the workman ; but if you restrict the quantity that he is to manufacture, the less able is he to pay the labourer or workman.

By restricting the hours of labour you are certainly very humane, if you are doing it to prevent the labourer being overwrought, and we believe it was for this purpose that Lord Ashley brought in his bill and bills, but he looked no farther than the outside and first step of the matter ; he only looked at the present relief that was to be derived from it ; he did not consider the future consequences of the measure ; it never occurred to him that there were any future bad consequences to arise ; it was enough for him, with his sympathetic nature, to be told that workmen were overwrought from labouring for too long a period during the day ; he thought all he had to do to remedy this was to shorten the time of their daily labour ; he never thought that they might have done this if they liked themselves without any legislative enactment, but he quite forgot that the more they wrought the more they got, and if he reduced the time of labour by compulsion to a shorter time, they would get wages accordingly, whether the wages given in that time would support them or not. We suppose that Lord Ashley considered that wages would be the same, whether the day was long or short, and he might think that the manufacturers were taking undue advantage of them by keeping them at long hours, when the workman had a right to the same wages for working a shorter period of time. The longer a workman labours the more he gets, and the shorter he labours the less he gets, and not, as we suppose Lord Ashley believes, a day's wage is a day's wage, and the same whether the day be long or short, or the work done more or less.

The workmen supposed wages were to be the same as in long hours.

We also suppose that workmen, when they wished and approved of this bill, supposed and believed that the Legislature would compel their masters to give them as much money for working ten hours a-day as they would get for working ten, twelve, fourteen, or sixteen hours a-day. We suspect they believed this; or, it might be, at the time of first moving and agitating this measure, that wages were high, and that ten hours' labour at these wages would keep them very comfortably, but they never took it into their heads that work might be scarce, and that ten hours' labour in this case would not nearly keep them in food. What are they to do in this case? Do they think that the Legislature can compel their masters to give them higher wages, as high as when trade was plentiful? If they do, they may suppose rightly from the passing of this measure; but the master finds that he cannot from trade being dull, and not having enough of work to employ them, or the profits from his manufactures not being sufficient to afford to give higher wages. Why, if the Legislature makes it a law of the land to give higher wages whether he is able or not, he must then give over manufacturing, and the workman in this case is worse off than ever, and gets no wages at all, and is allowed to starve and die, or come on the landed interest for poor's-rates; and the Legislature cannot compel the manufacturer to make goods, because he has not the means to do it; no one will give him machinery for nothing, as they are similarly or may be similarly situated, and cannot afford it. From this it follows they must take what wages and employment they can get, or starve. As to regulating the hours of labour, this is impossible to be done in the present state of the manufacturing world, as the manufacturer at present has immense and overwhelming opposition and competition both at home and abroad, and it is the foreign manufacturer that he requires most to be afraid of, from his being able to undersell him from labour being plentiful abroad, and also cheap, as well as provisions, which causes the labourer to work for a great deal less.

The manufacturer has competition in every thing; every one is trying to undersell, and they try all ways and means to cheapen their article, and one great means is to do away with food and human labour; they do this by inventing machinery to do the work of human beings, which they somehow or other are always and gradually managing to do, and by this means they can even make their article better and quicker, and a great deal cheaper, and in the course of time, by trying to evade the laws of the Legislature, which are not for their advantage, they make matters worse, and instead of doing workmen good by humanity bills, they do them incalculable harm by substituting artificial for human labour.

Foreign competition and cheap goods.

Manufacturers have so cheapened their goods by every means, and by processes the least expensive, that they can cheapen them no more, or at least easily, and all other countries have, and are suiting their manufactures to do the same; and if we get the advantage at one time, we soon lose it by others doing the same thing. The fabrics have even been made light to save the expense of putting much substance in them, but this was soon found out and imitated, and did harm to our manufactures, which were once so famous, because the articles did not last so long, or that foreigners did the same thing,

and were able to compete with us. Cheap machinery was got, but it did not last, as in the machine-making trade competition was as great, and they suited their article to the price, and made it as cheap as possible, and there was and is cheapness on every article and in every department, from the first origin of the raw material to the last and finest finishing of the article, that it is impossible to raise an article in price, and raise men's wages, as the profit on each department is so small, as any drawback on any of these many different branches in the preparation and manufacturing an article, from its first being taken from the mine until it is a finished article, or from its first growth or planting, as cotton or silk, may have a great effect in diminishing the profit of the article, as it is finished, or in any of its branches before it is finished. The want of labour in any of these branches may diminish the profits of the article that is finished, and the manufacturer may make and sell a large quantity of an article cheap, because in one branch the labour is cheap and he expects it to continue so; but it happens that labour rises, and the material is unexpectedly raised, and, having sold the finished article at a low price, expecting the raw material to continue cheap, and to make a profit by the largeness of the sale, he becomes a loser by having so foolishly diminished the price, until he was certain that the price was the same, or was to continue the same in every branch of the material; and it might be impossible for him to get information of the rise or fall in price of any of these branches for months, as the raw article might grow one place, and the other process might be carried on somewhere else; and as the profits of each are small, it requires a master to use great caution in not suddenly raising or letting down his prices. If he does so without great forethought and caution, a very little rise or fall in the price of any of these many different branches of the same article, may seriously affect him, and he therefore cannot suddenly raise his men's wages, but he can safely diminish them.

A manufacturer cannot raise his wages quickly or diminish the price on his goods, from his profits on his goods being at any time small, and it taking good years and profits to make up for bad years and small profits—the large profits or good years being required to assist in any sudden losses that may happen from a sudden scarcity or rise in the price of any of the materials which he requires to manufacture his goods, or it might be from the scarcity of labour, and for the same reason he cannot suddenly or quickly raise the price of his workmen's wages. If he were to raise the price of his goods one year from food being plentiful, or at any time from the expectation of its being plentiful, it is possible he might be a great loser by any thing sudden occurring to prevent the harvest being good, as some new works might take away the labourers, and less grain might be sown, or it might raise the price of grain from a want of labourers to cut it down; or it might be a famine in a neighbouring country, which will cause a rise in the price of grain; or it might happen from shipping being better employed otherwise, and not being even sufficient for that purpose, it would cause a scarcity of shipping, and would raise the price of grain. The same circumstances may happen, and are applicable to the different branches of the cotton manufacture; and it may thus be seen from the profits of manufacturers at any time being very

Difficulty of
suddenly rais-
ing wages.

small, it is impossible for him to diminish the price of goods, or raise the price of wages, unless with very great caution, as by any of the drawbacks or unfavourable circumstances occurring when he has diminished the price of his goods, or raised his workmen's wages, he may be a great loser by the second, and may have the last thrown on his hands by a cheap harvest happening, and thus he may lose years of profit by giving way to too flattering but deceitful prospects.

Impossibility
of giving
wages for ten
hours as for
ten and a-half.

If trade is dull it is impossible for a master to raise his workmen's wages, if he works for only a stated number of hours. The workman, if he gets 1s. 6d. a-day for working ten hours when there is high prices and plenty of trade, cannot expect to get 1s. 6d. for ten hours' labour a-day when there is plenty of trade and when prices are low; far less can he when trade is dull and food is dear, and prices are low from great competition both at home and abroad. You cannot compel a master to pay his workman the same wages for the same time if he cannot afford it. and it is impossible he can do it if the article will not pay for it. What is he to do then, or rather what is the workman to do? He cannot live on the reduced wages, and there is nothing to prevent him working other four hours, or even six at a time, but not continually from the beginning of the year to the end; but at times when the master is busy, if he likes to work two or four hours more, his master can give him more wages, and he can live and not starve, which last Lord Ashley's bill compels him to do, as he dare not work beyond ten hours, and his master cannot afford to give him higher or more wages for ten hours' work than he is giving, or if he does so, he must give up manufacturing. It may be that the master is very nearly a loser, and only undertakes the work to keep on his men, and to keep them from starving, and perhaps to keep old customers whom he might lose if he did not do the work, which he rather does on this account, although he makes nothing by it; but his men, if they were permitted to work a few hours more, might make as much as keep them from starving, or falling back on the poor-laws of the country for support, thus burdening still farther the landed interest, until trade and prices or the last were better, the few hours' increase might not last long when trade would improve in price, and it would be better to work longer hours than to starve at the present, as well as at a future period, as the master may be in a hurry to execute his orders, which may pay him, and he cannot get more hands to finish it quick enough, but to effect it he would overwork and hurry his men by short hours and destroy their health, and would give them no more wages, as they work by hour or by the day of ten hours: if they did not work quicker, he would dismiss them. It is therefore better to work longer and more leisurely, and to do more work, than to work for a short time and work hurriedly, and this will be one way in which manufacturers will take advantage of this new legislative regulation.

Workmen will
have more
money by the
time not being
regulated, and
will be healthier and better fed at all
times.

It may be by working a few more hours leisurely, and getting wages according to the hour or piece, by working longer during the day for a short time, the manufacturer preserves his customer, and keeps his men from starving until better times; but the Legislature spoils the future trade of the manufacturer, and starves the workman now and hereafter by their humanity, and thus they allow

foreigners to do the work quicker and cheaper, and take away the customer or purchasers from the British market, and who do not come back, as they find they are as well and more surely served elsewhere, and in time to sell the article again to great profit; but by being delayed by the Ten Hours' Labour Bill, the article was not manufactured till the market was glutted, or there was no use for it, shewing that an order may come very hurriedly to a manufacturer at a busy time of the year when labour is scarce, and he wishes to get an order quickly finished. What is he to do? his men are only allowed to work ten hours a-day. Now, it is commoner for manufacturers to have busy seasons of the year than to have a very regular and equable trade throughout the year. Now, if the master gets one of these sudden orders, he is not able to finish it quick enough, as he can only allow his men to work ten hours a-day, and he loses the order, as men are not easily to be had, and he keeps no more men than he generally requires, as his trade and his profits will not allow of it, and he used to depend on his own men working longer hours when any such orders came, and he now loses the opportunity of doing a profitable piece of work, for which he would get high remuneration, which would make up for his previous low prices, and allow him to go on afterwards and employ his men, and give them better wages in times of dull trade; but by losing the order, and by losing this he loses others, and at length loses his business, which likely goes to foreigners, or the order may be from them, and they not being able to get it executed, and having plenty of food, men, and money, set agoing manufactures for themselves to preserve themselves from future delays, and also to benefit their own subjects, who all find that it suits, and they get the article with certainty, although not so well finished as the British article, but perhaps the fabric is as good though not so elegant, but being of their own manufacturing, it looks even better than British manufacturing, and they go on manufacturing and improving it for themselves, until they equal that of British, and are even superior, so far as regards the permanence of the article, as they can afford to be at more expense with it.

Now, the workman, if he could take advantage of this sudden order, might make very large wages by working as long during the day as he pleased, and this for a short time during the busy season, and he might lay by as much money during this time as would keep him comfortably during seasons and times of scarcity and dull trade, when wages were low, or when there was no work; but the humanity of the Legislature has taken away this source of improving his condition, and keeping him from starvation and low wages during dull trade, which they will not prevent him from doing, as they have not the means; and unless they were prepared to do this and to prevent them from being a burden on the country, they ought not to have prevented them from taking and getting advantage of every opportunity of providing for their present and future wants, which they have done by restricting them to a ten hours' bill, which is only a means of starving the workman and destroying the manufacturer, and giving our trade to foreigners; and it prevents the workman from saving at these times and laying up

money for sickness and for old age, and for the education of his children.

We saw some paragraph in a newspaper saying, that some workmen wished their master to keep these busy times until winter, as they were less able to want during winter than summer, which no doubt is true as regards the being able to want, but as to keeping the work till winter, we would advise them as well as their masters to take all the work they can during summer, and lay aside with care the surplus of their wages and keep them for winter, as they are better able to work during the summer than winter, and let them look out for more work during winter, as orders are not to be regulated as they or their masters wish, but according to the demand and the state of the market. If they kept up summer orders until winter, there might be plenty of orders and work during winter, which might prevent the winter or summer orders from being executed; but we would advise workmen to work when they can, and lay aside any surplus for dull and hard times, and this is the surest and best way to do, and they lose no advantage. At any rate, the regulating the time of labour prevents the workman from getting a chance of improving and laying up money when trade is plentiful, for times when trade is dull and scarce.

Regulation of time may appear humane but is injurious.

A bill regulating the hours of labour would be a very humane measure, and would perhaps operate favourably to a certain extent, if trade was sure to continue always plentiful, and food plentiful, and if wages were never to fall; but as soon as there is a fall in the wages, down goes the ten hours' bill, as the wages of ten hours will not keep them if trade is not plentiful, nor will the wages of ten hours keep them if provisions are scarce, although it kept them when trade was plentiful, and when provisions were in abundance. The ten hours' bill must then be repealed to allow their working longer to get more wages and more provisions to keep them from starving. There is nothing for it but a repeal of this as well as other Legislative enactments, which bear such principles on them as interfere with the hours of work and the regulation of wages, or which are restrictive on the labourer and manufacturer, as they are only fraught with ruin and destruction to commerce, the source of this great empire's prosperity, as well as other nations.

The Legislature may interfere and prevent children working too early or too long, as their parents, if they are not old enough to work long enough, ought in this case to support them; but they cannot restrict the labour of those grown up either with regard to time or to health, as the whole commercial economy of the kingdom would be disordered. They alone are the best judges of it, and are even obliged to work to prevent ill-health from coming on them from a want of sufficient nourishment, which would happen if they did not work as long as they pleased; and in this case they must work longer when they can get work, to make up for the time lost when they could not get work. If Lord Ashley had taken eight hours a-day as the average during the year, he might have been right according to the general opinion, and more right than he is at present; but he would have been still as far wrong, as they might have wrought twenty-four hours a-day for three months

a-year and killed themselves, or eighteen hours a-day for four months a-year, and wrought no more during the year. Yet this eighteen hours would have destroyed them; but it would have been according to law, as it said an average of eight hours a-day during the year. An average of ten hours a-day during the year would have been nearer the truth than ten hours daily throughout the year. (Workmen considered it an average during the year.)

There are many trades which are unhealthy and which cut short life, you might better legislate for these, and prevent them from working. There are miners, there are those who work in lead, who are affected with paralysis from their occupation, and there are other trades. It would never do to prohibit them from working at their different occupations on account of their being unhealthy; but such is the tendency of the humanity bills, and they would throw such out of employment, which it is impossible to do without starving them and stopping these necessary works. They all know the nature and effect of their employments, and persist in them after the injurious effects have taken place, because all employments are overoccupied, and they have no other resource but to starve or continue them. But there are no employments, whatever may be their unhealthy effects, but these may be to a certain extent, if not entirely, prevented, if the workman will only take and use the proper precautions; but if you place these means in their power, they will not be at the trouble to use them, they may do so for a while, but they soon give them over; for instance, colliers will not be troubled to use Davy's lamp, and improvements on his, which are preventives from the dangers arising by fire from the gases in pits; for the dust going into their lungs they could get respirators for the purpose; but they would tire of them, or if they went out of repair they would not be at the trouble of repairing them. Pits might be better ventilated, to prevent the gases taking effect on the lungs—but they do not attend to this. Workers in lead and paints, and other substances prepared with lead and mercury, by attending to cleanliness, would in a great measure prevent their bad effects, using baths frequently, washing the parts exposed to the action of these several times a-day, as before meals—but they forget to do it, and will not be troubled to do it. We suppose some of these would be the subject of the humanity bills next; but there is no use interfering to stop or regulate their employments, if you can manage to raise their wages, and find out improved and effectual methods of making and getting the articles, and of preventing their injurious effects, this is all you can do, and the only thing that you have a right to interfere with. The regulation of labour is to be highly reprobated, as illegal and injudicious. It might be said that restricting it to sixteen hours would not be illegal, it is as injudicious as ten hours, as there are times when sixteen or seventeen hours are of very great use in a hurry, and workmen are the best judges of this themselves, and if they are paid for it no one has a right to interfere, but if masters were not to pay them for extra labour, then a law might be made regulating it.

This law is impossible, so far as the interests of all are concerned; It is impossible if you keep it you only make bad worse, you only cause the already bad to carry out the law.

starving and famishing to die. It is impossible to fix wages for ever at the same point, which it is necessary to do if you fix a certain number of hours for labour, as wages and goods vary in good or bad years. All bills for the purposes of Lord Ashley's, or which in principle bear any resemblance to his, ought to be checked and thrown overboard, as it is impossible to give the same wages for ten hours a-day as for twelve or fourteen hours, if they do more work in fourteen hours they cannot keep the wages always the same, they must raise and diminish them. If they were to keep them the same, this would always oblige the manufacturer to raise the price of his goods, and this would come on the public, who are not very fond of paying for others, when they know that they can easily work without harm for a longer time daily, at any rate they can do it at rare occasions. Take a look at many occupations, how long and hard they work; take a smith, for instance. But it is not the British public that they only sell their goods to, but they have as good a market abroad, which assists to support her manufacturers and workmen, and if they raise their prices, they lose this market, and they are not able to compete with foreign manufacturers, and they are then unable to give their workmen any employment, and they must starve wholly, instead of being in a starving state at some periods. It is a law which will never work, it will work its own cure; but previous to this it may have done great injury, and the manufacturers, in trying to evade it, will entirely throw out human labour, by using in its stead machinery, or they will carry their manufactures abroad, as many have done, and will thus learn and assist foreign countries in the best and quickest modes of manufacturing, and beating us. It is a law which clogs all commercial enterprise, and one by which no manufacturer or other can succeed; it is the same as regulating the price of his article, whether he can afford it or not; it is making the price of his article as high in bad seasons as in good; it is making him charge a low price for his article when he can get a high price, and this may be when he has been for years before unsuccessful, and makes him lose the chance of righting and bettering himself; it is regulating trade and its prices without considering the state of commerce and the foreign markets. If you are supported by your foreign traffic, and do not try to regulate your prices to foreign prices; if they are high, and more especially if they are low, it is the ruin of our foreign commerce, and will be the cause of ruining and starving our manufacturers, workmen, and landed proprietors, and the sooner such a law is repealed the better, or any law which bears such a principle of interference and compulsion, which would regulate prices and labour to one standard through good years and through bad, and through trade, which is so fluctuating.

Will cause
manufacturers
to go
abroad.

The humane measures of Lord Ashley and others bear the principle of assisting the workmen, or the objects of their assistance, out of one danger which will not destroy them, by putting them into a worse danger, without those assisting knowing it or thinking anything about it, which will destroy them. Now, they ought to provide for them some time after their assistance, and not see them out of a scrape and then leave them; but they ought to see that

they are in a fair way of being kept clear of any other danger, at least a greater than that from which they suppose they have rescued them, and they ought to look well to the future to see if wages are always to be had for them as well as work, and that they are as good as they have left. This ought to be all considered before clearing them out of danger, and not to wait until it has been done, as prevention of an evil is better than its cure.

Note.—We may give writers' clerks or copying clerks as an example where persons have to labour long during a day, while the Courts are sitting, in order to finish business, and to save and make money for the slack period when the Court rises, when they have little work, and therefore little pay and means of support.

CHURCH, & c.

IN these days of enlightenment and scientific improvement, in the political world there is nothing but an everlasting craving for change. As soon as one measure is discussed, improved, or adopted, or thrown aside, as it may be thought necessary, some other subject or object is hunted out and brought to light, to keep the nation in amusement or in excitement, and to employ the time of the Legislative bodies. There are now no great topics or principles which can keep in excitement and attract and distract the attention of the nation, and occupy the Legislature for weeks together every year, and which divide the nation into different parties against one another in vehement, bitter, and strong opposition, and keep the nation at the same time in a constant state of excitement and ferment while the subject is debated, as well as before and after it, and which even cause the separation and estrangement of friends who might have been long associated with one another—such was the case with the Reform Bill. All are now alike agreed with regard to so much of that measure as has already been promulgated and carried through the Legislature; it may now be said to be a dead measure, so far as there are now two parties in the state with regard to it; however, there are many in this measure, as well as in others, who have given their silent acquiescence to the Reform Bill, but still it is only a silent consent, it is not the acquiescence of conviction, or of a belief in the truth of its doctrines; some from a dislike and aversion to changes and innovations of all kinds, they suppose, so long as they are comfortable, they do not see and do not know why other people should not be the same way; there are others who do not and did not approve of it, as they believed if once the multitude got a part, they would not be satisfied with this, but would go on seeking and getting more of it, until by its means they had the whole power of the country in their hands, and would use this power improperly and for their own selfish ends, without considering those who had the capital and education, and who employed them, and without their studying their interests, as well as their own, they could not exist. There is a very large and wealthy body of these who think the Reform Bill has gone far enough, and perhaps too far, but they would still be contented if it were to remain as it is, and might call themselves reformers, and might even be heard to admire and speak in praise of the wisdom and liberality of such a measure, which was requisite to be given to a large and wealthy class of the nation, instead of such a power being vested in

the hands of a few men who were not always the best judges, either by wealth, acquirements, information, talent, or education, who was the best person to be sent to the Legislature; it was not measures which they advocated and sent to Parliament, it was the external figure of a man, and very frequently his money. It is not to be thought that the persons who sent the member to Parliament fairly represented the wealthy and enlightened class, or even the majority of the nation. The Town-councils before the Reform Bill were not composed of educated men, as by remembering and looking at them in any town before that date, or even at the present time, any one will see they were not fit judges who to elect; and there was therefore need of a more enlarged and enlightened body to send members to Parliament, and most are now agreed that an enlargement of the electors was necessary. As to the exact amount many yet differ in opinion, but so far as it at present has gone, all seem to agree in favour of it, either by their open approval or tacit acquiescence; but as to the further extension of the Reform Bill there is little doubt there will be great differences of opinion, and there is little doubt there will be again a distinction of parties with regard to its further extension, or as some would say, its full development; as they consider they have not got the Reform Bill, but only a trial or progressive portion of it, and that universal suffrage is the only and great end or fulfilment of the Reform Bill. It is likely there will be very great opposition to this, but even this is doubtful, as measures are now-a-days passed near the termination of a Parliament, as the members wish to please their constituents and to regain their seats, and as their minds have been getting gradually accustomed, and are getting more so, in favour of the measure, and they at length lose sight of its bad effects, as they at one time considered it to have, but from being accustomed to hear debates so often in its favour, it gives them a lukewarmness as to their opposing it, and being combined with self-interest, they agree to the measure, and suppose that something will prevent its injurious effects. However, that has yet to come, and it may be very long before it does occur, but at present the matter seems to be at rest, and all parties who do not advocate extreme measures, as the Chartists, &c., are agreed as to what already has been granted, and so there is no division of parties with regard to this measure. Thus are two great parties merged into one, at least they have no particular principles which divide them, they may differ as to some measure or the means by which they may attain it, but the measure does not contain within it any of the great leading principles of legislation which affects the whole nation. (An extension of the franchise has been outvoted the other day.)

Corn-Laws.

The corn-laws or the principles of free trade for a long period attracted and divided the attention of two large bodies in the State, and, at length, this measure was set at rest by the majority gaining it; but this measure has not the approval, nor the tacit acquiescence of all; there are still a large number who disapprove of it, and a very great number agreed to it, not from conviction, but who thought there was no other way of doing than agreeing to it, and who did it because they thought there was a chance of their not being injured by the measure; we may easily know this from the

strong opposition which the greatest number of the landed proprietors persisted in giving it; and it could not be expected that such an enlightened and well-educated class, and such a well-informed class, would so suddenly come round to agree to it, when the circumstances requiring it were not very different from what they had been for years; nor was there any chance of their being altered to allow of their agreeing with it; nor was there any new argument in its favour; no doubt there was an appearance of scarcity, but their opinions were made up before this, and they might have had a suspension of the corn-laws during a period of famine for this purpose. There is little doubt, [that with other circumstances, an approaching election—the great and all-powerful changer of the principles of the interested—was a great means of furthering and promoting the passing of the measure, as it is the means of many measures passing, and no one can depend or know what may take place from this immoral change of principle, from a desire to get into Parliament, and from interested motives, and not from conviction. There is no doubt, when a person's interest is concerned, that he is readier and more easily convinced of the benefit of any measure which he opposed before he was interested in it. It is the nature of the human race to be more easily biassed and influenced in favour of any opinion or person in whom we have an interest, and our judgment is apt to be swayed in favour of that side from which we are likely to gain anything; and it is the same where one is constantly annoyed to give up a principle, we, in the same way, nerve ourselves less to disprove it than we would, either from an indolence or want of energy, or a dislike, or from easiness of temper, and gradually we acquiesce and agree to it.

Free-trade principles, it might be said, were progressing and hastening the overthrow of the corn-laws. It might be so said that it might be a means of convincing those who had nothing to lose by the corn-laws, but to those who had a great deal to lose, and from all circumstances knew they had nothing to gain by their repeal, this progressing of the free-trade measures would have no progressive influence in making them agree to it; and as it was believed by them that they would lose much by them, and at the least that it would be the cause of expense and great toil and industry in allowing of their competing with foreign countries. So long as this country found that by restricting commerce and manufactures to their own country would prevent competition abroad with foreign countries, so long did non-free-trade principles agree and seem right to all without exception; but so soon as foreign countries aid an embargo, as it may almost be termed, on British manufactures, they found out from want of sale, that nothing else but free trade would do, that foreign countries would not admit their goods, unless they gave up their monopolizing restrictions, and prohibitory duties of their goods; but as usual it was too late: it was only done when they saw they could do no better, and when foreign nations saw that they could do better, than admit them on free-trade principles, and it was the manufacturers themselves and no others, and the workmen themselves and no others, who kept up the prohibitory and protecting duties on all foreign goods, and on their own, whatever they might be. Each approved of it in his own branch of ma-

Progressive
and selfish
advance
of free trade.

manufacture, while he disapproved of it in that of his neighbour, each perhaps said, and wished the foreigner to be relieved of the duty on his neighbour's goods in this country, that is, wished the duty to be taken off foreign goods which were the same as were manufactured by his neighbour in this country, but which was a different article from his, and by doing so he would get his goods admitted abroad at a lower duty, by granting this favour to foreigners on his neighbour's goods, or all the goods in the empire which were different from his, so that he might be a gainer; but he did not wish the duty reduced to foreign manufacturers on the goods which he manufactured, as he could not stand foreign competition, or it would greatly diminish his profits, as it might happen that the foreign article was superior, and could be made cheaper by them, than by him. For instance, he said, take the duty off lace, and we will get our goods admitted cheap; but the lace manufacturer would not hear of the duty being taken off foreign lace, as he would not be able to compete with the foreign lace merchant. The lace merchant, in turn, says, take the duty off foreign silks, and he would be able to take the duty off his goods abroad, &c. Some said take the duty off foreign leather, and we will get cheap boots and shoes; but the shoemakers opposed it: some said, admit foreign-made boots and shoes at a reduced duty, but the shoemakers said they would get no work, and would lose their trade, and would require to turn their attention to something else, as they could not compete with foreign manufacturers of shoes, as labour and leather was so much cheaper abroad, and they said take the duty off any thing but leather and boots and shoes, or I will not be able to live. In the same way some said, admit hats of foreign manufacture; the hat manufacturer opposed it, but wished for free trade in every thing else. The glover in the same way. And butter and cheese were also wished to be reduced, but, of course, the agriculturist said, any thing but these. There was a cry for free trade in butcher meat;—all the butchers and graziers in the land cried out against it, and never thought that butcher meat would become an article of free trade, although they had cried out for reduced duties on other things, and because it might not go by the name of a free-trade reduction, they might fancy it was not free trade, but as soon as it came to themselves, under whatever name, they soon found out that it was free trade which they had so much approved of in the case of others, but disapproved of in their own case, and when it went under the name of free trade.

It is the same with everything else. So long as any measure only when we does not personally affect any one, they cry out for free trade in cannot do any every other trade except their own, and oppose it loudly when it better. affects their own, which it somehow or other never entered into their head, that it would ever become a subject for free trade, but some kind neighbouring trade, who were once of the same way of thinking, but when they got free trade to affect their business, they thought that as they were injured, that the others, by being also included, might improve their branch and trade generally, and the country, and if it did not it would not injure themselves, and thus has free trade progressed. Every one thought it very good, and requisite for every one but themselves, and disapproving of it in

their own particular case, but as soon as they were injured by it, as they thought, they wish free trade in its most extended scale, and many cry out for it without knowing anything about it, but that they are to get everything cheaper by it, and free trade being an effect of the Reform Bill, as it gives a freer choice of members, as they have the power to elect them and make them vote as they please. And thus all wished for the Reform Bill as a means of getting everything cheap.

It is the interest of all States, and of new States, that is, also States new or young in manufacturing, to protect their manufactures. If they compete with an old and wealthy manufacturing State it is a long time before they can get above them, if ever they do it (we have no precedent of a new State competing on equal terms with an old manufacturing State), as they are able to sell cheaper, and give a better article, and finish the article better, finer, and more elegantly, as well as tastefully, than the new manufacturing State, and the old State causes the total ruin of the new State's manufactures, or brings depression or perhaps great loss to the new State, whose interest it is to have manufactures as a source of wealth, and as a means of employing her people; no country finds it its interest to allow of goods of the same workmanship, material, and species on an equal footing with her own, unless it be by getting another duty diminished, as a reciprocal favour for one received; but so long as any State has a superiority in any branch of manufacture, she seldom, except in very rare instances, allows a foreign State to enter an article of the same kind to compete on equal terms with her own; it is only admitted when her own superiority is on the wane, and by this time she cannot outsell in that country the article of their own manufacture; but so long as she can undersell them, she does not admit them on equal terms, as she prevents and keeps down their manufactures; nor does she admit an old-established foreign article to compete with an article of the same kind newly established by her, until she is nearly on a level with the foreign article in excellence, and price, or when some greater favour is expected, as getting another article reduced to a greater extent, which is likely to cover the loss of the article reduced or admitted; or, it may be, the article is admitted, although it may injure the same article of our own manufacture, because we may get some other articles admitted into the foreign country, which more than counterbalances this loss, and as it contains, and supports greater, and more important, and requisite interests than the article given up; but unless each fancies in this way or other, that each is to be benefited, the one will not give, or yield any benefit to the other;—one branch of trade cries out against it and another wishes it, and it is not easy to satisfy all, without to a certain extent, sacrificing some, and we must not look to the single and selfish, but to the general interest and benefit in the regulating of free-trade.

The next great subject for a division of parties, and for party Religion the warfare, and one which is likely to be attended with a great deal of next great dispute, ill-will, party rancour, animosity, and one which will subject that estrange neighbours and friends from one another, more than any divide parties. It is likely to be discussed in the political world. It

is one which causes great heart-burnings and strifes among friends, and has done so, and will continue to do so, although it ought not to do so when discussed by those of opposite opinions in private, but more especially in public. This is the subject of religion. It seems to be the nature and tendency of religion, that where there is a difference in its worship, there is a want of the same sociality and brotherhood, as where the kind of worship is the same, even where there is very little difference of principle; yet such causes a closer connection between those who frequent the same worship, than between those who frequent different kinds of worship; but where the separation is wide and far asunder, there is an immense distance in the relative friendship and sociality of the worshippers, even in the same kind of worship. Members attending different congregations, sympathize and associate more with those of their own church, than those of the other with whom they may be as intimately acquainted. Such being the case, we cannot wonder that a separation, or interference in any way, of one body over another, should give rise to great latitude of feeling. The religious feeling is one which throws aside, and passes by all other political states to effect its purpose, but it does not heedlessly overthrow now-a-days what is right, with thoughtless zeal to gain and attain its own purpose, but being mellowed, and chastened by the true religious principles which modern times, and truer religious principles teach, that is, being less affected with fanaticism and religious zeal, which, without education and without thinking, heedlessly drives everything before it, be it right or wrong, and this to attain its own object which it has in view, and every thing else that comes in its way and opposes it, it holds to be blasphemous and not scriptural, and right to destroy to gain their object, considering that religion in most kinds of worship at the present day, but not all, is attended with less of the fanatic spirit than in old times. There is not so much likelihood of there being so much rancour as there used to be; but still it is apt yet in our own day to give up a true political principle, in support of their own religious principles, when it is in opposition to them, and we cannot doubt that when there is a separation, that there will be a separation of friendship, and of fellowship; but where there is a withdrawal of that which causes the loss, or decay, or destruction of their worship, and of that of so many of their fellow-citizens, we cannot doubt there will be great estrangement of friendship, and a giving up of political principles, in support of the endowment of the Church under which they, and theirs, for generations have been brought up, and have prospered and flourished, and which has stood so long, yet so pure, and which has done so much good since the kingdom may be said to have been first improved, and really to have been a kingdom, and the Church in which our ancestors, and we, have been brought up and trained.

Church of
Scotland, and
the appropriation
of the revenues of Es-
tablishments.

In these days of craving for something new—in these days when all means are tried to get money, whoever is to be at the expense, and every one as he is bereft joins with the depredators, and envious, and covetous, looks out for another object to get money from, or make alike with themselves, and these have now found out, as there is no particular object to attract the political world—they have found out an object, which as a whole, is possessed of great wealth,

but it exerts no great political influence. It has certainly within itself great political influence, but it is not according to its doctrines to use them, and it does not do so, unless in behalf of itself as connected with religion. The Church of Scotland does not, any Church ought not, to use its religious influence in support of any political measure, unless it is connected with religion or education. A minister of the gospel ought not to intermeddle either himself, or he ought not to influence others, as to political matters, unless for the purpose of mildly, gently, and in a religious spirit, repressing all measures which have a tendency to appropriate property, as division of property and such like measures as are not in accordance with the rule of faith or religion: such are the only political subjects with which he ought to meddle. He ought no doubt to teach them moderation, gentleness of spirit, and calmness of temper, in all their dealings, political as well as others, and to bear and forbear with those to whom they may be opposed. Some have said they might advocate such a measure as the corn-law if they thought the poor required it; but we think they ought only to have preached to them to be submissive to their lot, and to try all means which have not an evil or dangerous tendency, to attain their object—to try and persuade others with coolness, and without party feeling and animosity. We think there are always plenty without clergymen to carry on and debate such measures, which are not always debated with a calm and tempered state of mind; and it is more seemly for a clergyman not to be seen engaged in such a worldly and ill-looking strife. He ought rather to be a peacemaker, and one who ought to try to soothe and calm the evil spirits of parties than to be a sharer in them, and perhaps in the heat of the moment set and shew an example of glaring animosity and rancour to his flock; and by contemptuous language to his opponents, only shew in the loss of dignity and respect which his character requires him to preserve in his demeanour to all, and more especially to his flock, although the subject may be one which favours the political principles of his flock, yet it causes a loss of respect in their eyes. It may not be noticeable, but still there is the feeling, and the more it is indulged the more likely is it to be perceived, and to destroy much of his usefulness.

For more than a year there have been open and public notices, General pro-
 both in writing and on the hustings, of a resolution to do away with gressive
 the endowments of the Church of Scotland, and of the other State causes for
 Churches of Great Britain and Ireland. There used to be whis- doing away
 pers now and then about the monstrosity of having an endowed with Estab-
 Church, but they were few and far between, and were only heard, blishments.
 but no attention paid to them, as such an event was not thought
 likely to happen, or merely as if it had been said in jest. Some
 may fancy a number of years ago that there was a great outcry
 about Establishments; but this was not for the purpose of doing
 away with Establishments which existed (we speak with regard to
 the Scotch Church), it was a great clamour raised by the Secession
 branches of the Scotch Church, who had separated from the mother
 Church. The Secession Church is very closely allied to it in all its
 principles; but that of all its members having a right to choose
 their own ministers, instead of having them appointed by a patron,

or single person, and also in paying their ministers' stipend by a voluntary subscription from its members, and from the rents arising from the seats, instead of having an endowment from the land of the State, or country rather, as the Established Church of Scotland has. At the time of their secession they agreed to the principle of an endowed Established Church; but in course of time getting more separated from the close association of the same brotherhood, they, like others, finding that they had to support their ministers, and being scarcely able to do that, became envious of the fixed and permanent nature of the Established ministers, and the superior status they held perhaps as much as any thing else, or it might be from the refusal of the Government to give them endowments, or, in some cases, as much assistance as they might require for some special purposes at rare times, and from such causes as these, the Secession ministers and their flocks wished all to be alike, and said it was unscriptural to have endowments from the State. This was after the Church of Scotland ministers and people were trying to get an increased number of endowments, for the purpose of getting up a number of new churches, to supply the want of accommodation in the present churches, from the great increase of members, since the first origin of the Church, or from the great number of members attracted to the churches, from the district becoming more populous. On hearing of this attempt to get more endowments, the Secession Church especially, as well as others, strongly opposed such a permanent grant, and, disapproving of it, they took the name of Voluntaries, from their only approving of their ministers being paid their stipends from voluntary subscriptions; but even although they disapproved of and opposed such a grant, they shewed no attempt or inclination at that time to do away with the old endowments of the Church of Scotland; but in time, from the heart-burnings arising between the Established and the Secession clergy, the last at length disapproved of State permanent endowments, or a church whose revenues are derived from the country; but we never heard publicly in addresses to constituencies till lately, of any attempts to do away with the endowments of the Established Church; but as it is now publicly spoken of, and as there are many, who are not very religiously inclined, and who never think about religion as having any connection with the good and well-being of the State, and as being one of the most important means that a State has of governing and ruling tranquilly, and at little expense, a nation. We have no doubt that many who are young, even the old, will, rather than lose their chance of a seat in Parliament, give up the revenues of the Established Church, and as they do not value religion as a means, and as being one of the most valuable means, of governing and ruling a nation, and as they perhaps do not care for it, there can be little doubt, they will vote for the destruction of the Established Church. We ourselves have heard young candidates, and one especially, who was brought forward by a party very respectable and religious, for other reasons than that of endowments, and who were not aware of his opinions with regard to endowments, but it seems when he came on the platform, he was a sincere admirer of endowments, and had a great veneration for the Episcopalian religion, and was a titled gentleman. He at first approved

of endowments, but on some one asking him whether he would do away with Establishments if he were elected, he shuffled and stammered a while, and did not know what to say. He at length said he would do away with the Irish Church after a time, but he would preserve the churches (the buildings). At length, being closer questioned, he said he had really never thought of the matter; but on still being questioned, he said he would do away with endowments belonging to the Established Church. It was rather quick work, to make up his mind on such an important question, in a minute, from a person who had such a veneration for the Church, and had friends, or acquaintances bishops. It only shews what we have to expect. We know of another who at first said he would support endowments, and in a few weeks after, when he thought he would get more voters, he came to the opinion that he would do away with endowments. This only shews that we are not to depend on the length of time that the Church has been established, and the great good she has done, nor to the good feelings of the people towards her, especially those who are opposed to her in the principle of endowments, and who support their Church by voluntary contributions; and as they are a large and influential body, and as there are many persons who will do any thing to get into Parliament, and would vote as they wished; and as there are many respectable members of Parliament who advocate Voluntary principles, it is of the highest importance to those who value the future welfare, spiritual and religious, as well as the future happiness of the people of Scotland and the empire, that early, safe, and sure measures and precautions ought to be taken, to prevent such a great injury happening, or being permitted.

Establishments or endowments for churches and religious purposes have their origin in the time of the Jews, who had so much of the fruits and products of the soil allotted for the service of religion, and so far as we have scriptural notice of it, there is no doubt this was compulsory on the part of the inhabitants of the land. We have also the first fruits dedicated to religion, where there was a worship of idols or images, and it was requisite for them to give these to support the priesthood and the temples; there seems to have been from time immemorial a law of nature, perpetual in all ages and countries, where man had any intellect above the animal creation, to lay aside and give certain regular gifts to the services of religion, whatever kind it might be; such may be called endowments, in whatever shape they were given; it seems that whatever was the kind of religion, or whatever the state of civilization of the country, the priesthood or ministers of religion were always the first that were served.

We date the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland from the time of Queen Mary of Scotland and her son James, king of England and Scotland. It had its first permanent settlement in his reign, and the permanent endowment had its origin in his reign. It is a part of the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, which was finally overturned and superseded in the reign of Queen Mary, but the revenues did not descend on the Presbyterian Church at first, as they were seized in the confusion and turmoil of the times by the nobility and gentry, as well as the crown, Right of the Church to her revenues.

who distributed part of the revenues of the monasteries, abbeys, and different branches of religion, amongst the nobility and gentry who espoused the Protestant cause, many of whom did so for the purpose of getting a portion of the Roman Catholic revenues, but the Protestant clergy got no part of them at that time, or any permanent revenue for some time after the downfall of the Roman Catholic Church, and there were then certain portions of the land appropriated to the Church by James, Queen Mary's son. The revenues of these abbacies and monasteries being spread over the whole land, and having their origin from a grant by some pious and beneficent individuals, and from the different sovereigns of Scotland at different periods, and from accumulations of the different religious communities themselves, and Protestantism being now a law of the land, the revenues granted to the Presbyterian Church could not be said to be taken, or wrested from any one, or at any one's expense, but had belonged to the Church from time immemorial; it might be said they were taken from the Roman Catholics, but where almost all turned Protestants, it could only be said to be the substitution of one Church for another, and the same lands suited the one as well as the other, and that they were got at the expense of no one, not even the nation, the only difference being, that they had not so large revenues as the Romanists had, and that, because a portion, and a very large one, was seized by the nobility, and remain with some of them to this day, and it might as well be said that they belonged to the State, and that it burdened the State to support the possessors of them, whether they be the descendants of those who got them or not; part of them were retained by the Crown, and part given by the Crown to individuals, and to the Church, and the Church being under the special protection of the Crown and the country, on account of the good derived from it by all, all found it their interest to take care of, and preserve the portion got by the Church, as she was not able to protect herself, and thus the union between the two has been derived and continued, while the rest of the Roman Catholic revenues has been managed, and protected by the individuals who seized it, or got a gift of it; or else if the Crown and State had been benefited by it, they would have also managed that, and would not have alienated it any more than that of the Church, and it would have been called State property to this day, as well as that belonging to the Church, with as good a right; it cannot, therefore, be said to belong to the State, or to be derived from the State, and it therefore cannot be said to be a burden on the State, as it was merely property which was placed under the protection of the State, who undertook and continued the charge from its being useful to it, and who prevented, for this reason, its revenues from being alienated or squandered, and it was only to be used for religious purposes. It only shews how the rest of the Church property and revenue has been derived at first by private donations and gifts, and how, as it has accumulated and been got, it has come under the protection, guardianship, or trusteeship of the State, and been considered State property, although the State was never at any expense in acquiring it, or rather it never acquired it; it might rather be said that it took from it, and kept for itself, as well as gave to others what did not belong

to it; it might never have been gotten if it had belonged to the State; it is different from the poor-law, which is a tax raised or diminished as circumstances may require; the Church revenue is fixed and is the same, but the particular property has merged, been joined, or mixed, or annexed with the whole property of the country, instead of being separate or distinct, as it at first was, and this has arisen and been done from purposes of convenience to the Church, and profit as well as convenience to the proprietor for being at the trouble of its management, the portion of the Church being entailed on the Church, whoever possesses the lands. During Charles the First's reign, Charles the Second's and his brother James's reign; the Episcopalians appropriated the revenues of the Church of Scotland to their own purposes, but during the reign of Mary and Anne, they were placed on a permanent footing, and as they are at the present time.

It has been said by the Voluntaries that endowments are unscriptural, that is to say State endowments. There has been some mistake or confusion in the minds of some who have opposed all endowments, whether by private individuals, or by the State. However, we know that there are some who make a distinction, and are not confused, and who do not make and believe them to be one and the same thing, as they think it better for congregations to subscribe yearly in support of their religion and minister, as by doing so it keeps up, and gives them a greater zeal in the cause of religion. If they did not do so, they might take a less interest in it, as they wish to see their money well and properly used. They might for this purpose have a partial endowment, and a partial yearly voluntary subscription, and this would answer all ends, and especially a partial endowment would be a state of preparation in times of want and scarcity. If they wished to give more, it might be done for missionary, educational, or charitable purposes. As to endowments being unscriptural from our reading of Scripture, and from the general principles of the Word of God, we are only the more inclined to believe that they are more scriptural than not. In the Old Testament we read of the firstlings of the beasts; we read also of tithes of land, tithes of the herd. The priests had first-fruits of wine, and wheat the best, and these were the endowments of the Jews. This is according to the Old Testament, and the Voluntaries would say that it is not binding; but the commandments are according to the Old Testament, so are tithes. The New Testament does not forbid it, and they had it not, because the Church was in its infancy, and was only in a missionary state. It was scattered here and there, and had no permanent footing with any of the people amongst whom it was, and it was in general rather in opposition to the general feelings, and from the adherents being few, and most generally poor, they never thought of a permanent provision, as it also could not be had with safety in such troublous times, and the churches were not in a secure and settled state, and had not had time to think of it when the last book of the New Testament was written, and for some time after; but as soon as the Christian religion became more settled, and on a sure and firm basis, and when it became general, and was the religion of a whole people, according to the natural, and requisite nature, and

tendency of the human race, a permanent provision was made for the Christian religion, and the times have not yet made it requisite to do away with such a means of permanently preserving, and keeping up religion amongst the people, as they are liable to want the means, as well as the inclination to keep it up, and it is useful to them and to others when they require it, and are inclined to take advantage of it. Where there is an endowment it is always perfect, and in a healthy vigorous state to administer religion, and does not decay or fall to the ground, or shew forth its doctrines in an imperfect and ruinous state, and religion does not wither or flourish, as individuals may or may not feel inclined to be religious or not, or as they may be stimulated by knowing that they are under the observation of a permanent and flourishing church, which is a great means of stimulating and exciting Voluntary Churches, and preserving them, which might not be the case if they had not this always in view before them; and as an example, both are useful to the other, in preserving each simple and religious.

Evils of Voluntaryism, and benefits of Establishments to all and to Voluntaryes.

The general morality and principles of the Scripture, as well as any legible authority in the Scriptures, openly shew that it is more in accordance with Scripture, that we should always be in a state of constant preparation to supply the wants of religion, and to preserve and administer, and not allow it to be deficient or imperfect, or not be had from chance, and the want of means, or caprice of weak, frail, and changeable, and vain human mortals. It has been said that the general principle of State, and all other endowments is wrong, and they say that congregations are more attentive and less lukewarm to the interests of religion, if they regularly assist in paying the stipend of a clergyman. They may be so, but there are many circumstances which prevent a congregation from being permanent, and the minister may be left without support, as some of his wealthiest, and best hearers may be cut off one way or another, by death, or by a decrease of religious zeal, or it may be the want of means, or from its being a poor congregation, and from the church being heavily debted. A very great and crying shame this last to voluntary congregations in allowing such a thing, building a church without the means of paying for it, when they might have joined another congregation, and both in one might have done great good in the cause of religion; but singly they are doing harm to religion, and setting a bad example to all, and in being more unscriptural by taking on debt and remaining so, and imperfectly administering religion, and keeping themselves and their clergyman in an unworthy position in the eyes of the world, as well as not giving him the proper support which his station and usefulness require, and of which a true and faithful minister of the Gospel is more worthy than any other, but which he is not likely to get, unless he has at least a part of his stipend fixed by an endowment; if he has not this, his stipend cannot always be depended on. It is therefore the duty of all to be prepared for any adverse circumstances that may occur, to hinder the due, and proper, and sufficient remuneration, of one who holds such an important and holy office, and one who is the adviser and friend of all who hear him, on a subject which is of such vital im-

portance to the welfare of all, both in this life and in that which is to come, and as he guides and directs, and reminds and teaches the high and the low, the duties and principles which are to guide and direct them through every sphere of the world, and through all ages of life, and thus keeps them, and preserves them from dishonouring, or breaking any of the moral ties and obligations between man and man, and also directs, and makes them walk and act uprightly in the daily transactions of this life, and he is one who consoles, and assists them in the time of trouble and affliction. It is therefore right and incumbent on all, and scriptural, that such a person ought to have a sure and permanent support, and one befitting his holy, and dignified and most worthy station, education, and calling. If you once appoint him to be your pastor, it is you who are to blame if he turns out different from what you expected, as you ought to have inquired better after his character, principles, and acquirements; and it ought not to be left to any to turn him off, or leave him unsupported, from any dislike, whim, or fancy; this by some has been a cause of wishing to make, and to keep clergymen under the power of their congregations, if he should be wayward, or differ from them; but this is a very hurtful notion and measure, as it takes from a clergyman his independency and self-respect, and the free use of his opinions and usefulness, where it is necessary and requisite, although in opposition to the worldly opinions of his flock. If there is anything truly or contrary to the laws of your church or the Scriptures, you have always redress for such in your church-courts, but if it is anything else, it is not likely that it will happen, as he will demean himself, as his education, and the holiness and responsibility of his calling clearly indicate, that he will not likely act contrary to what is right, or you would not appoint him, whether he was endowed or unendowed, after he has left a better situation, or as good, and it may be where he was respected and would have continued to be so. Besides, he has a right to be treated well, and to receive a stipend, which will allow of his supporting the rank and dignity of the sphere in which you have placed him and his family, and to associate with you as an equal. His education having been one of considerable length, and one of great expense, it is one which allows him to associate with the first of the land—it is one which makes him superior to most of you, if not all, and one, which from its expensiveness, and the length of time he has been at in acquiring it, renders it necessary that the remuneration should be in accordance with it, and those amongst whom he is to minister and associate, and also for the present, and future wants of his family, who are to be brought up and left with some future provision, if death should bereave them of their parent.

Establishments or endowed churches, of whatever kind, either from Establish-
 having a tithe off the country or endowed by private individuals, are ^{ments of vital}
 of vital importance to the spiritual welfare, and the general good of ^{importance to}
 the country, and of the district where such churches are situated. ^{the State and}
 Country.
 An endowed church is a perpetual, or never-failing fountain or
 spring, from whence at all times, and during all seasons there is a
 never-failing supply of religion, and public good to be derived; it
 is a constant source and means of supply, from whence branches to
 all parts are constantly to be had, and are perpetually pouring forth

Purity and
simplicity of
the Scotch
Church.

religion and spiritual welfare to all, and are ever ready to flow during all seasons and times, and changes of opinion and of improvement; and being of a permanent nature, they may be altered easily, if required, to any improvements that may be required, or that may take place, or any better or clearer explanations of their doctrines. But with regard to the Scotch Church, it seems to have been laid down on principles of the simplest kind, and in such exact accordance with the general principles of Scripture, that through all changes and secessions, and in these off-shoots or branches, as the secessions of the Church of Scotland may be termed, as they have the same doctrines, and as there is scarcely any difference in their expoundings and expositions of the doctrines of the Bible, and Christianity (except what is common to different individuals), and which in the case of either have suffered no alteration since the days of the great Scottish Reformer, John Knox, unless in some minor points, which are not of any great consequence. Such being the case, the system of the Scottish Church must be almost perfect, and it might be that any falling off might take place, from their clergy being too remiss, and relax in enforcing the truths and duties of the Gospel, which may be disagreeable to some of their congregation, from their being more refined and delicate and less religious, from wealth, &c., or they may be less strict in their private duties themselves, and in trying to keep, preserve and enforce them on their congregations. It is only in the strictness of discipline that they differ from their great founder, John Knox, but in their exposition of the Scriptures, they hold the same doctrines without any change, and the doctrines of the Presbyterian churches are of the plainest and most simple kind, they are such, that almost any one can understand them by taking a Bible in their hands, and if they can understand the ten commandments in their simplest and plainest signification, which the dullest person can, and if they apply the general meaning of these, can understand the general duties, and meaning, and intention of the Scripture and the principles and doctrines of the Church of Scotland. There are some points which the clergyman requires to explain to the uneducated or thoughtless, who are sometimes apt to give some passages too literal a meaning, when it is only in the shape of a parable; sometimes they misapply the meaning of a verse, by not attending to the sense and meaning of the verses which precede and follow, and the general principles of the Scriptures.

Superiority of
the Estab-
lished over
the Voluntary
Church.

The contents of the fountain of the Establishment are always in perfection, and more perfect and pure than ever it was. It does not flow by sudden, and unexpected, and far-between gushes and torrents; it is always there, and running in an abundant stream; it is there as a reservoir, perpetually filled and pouring forth spiritual doctrines, and true, natural, healthy, and simple religion and its truths; and it is always ready to be poured out, and is constantly flowing in a healthy and simple state, without any admixture of any thing that is hurtful and spurious; while the Voluntary church is not perfect, although it is or may be a copy of the original, yet it is imperfect, as it is not of a permanent nature. It has no permanent spring from whence a constant supply of religion can be got for all, and at no expense, but merely for the going for it; but not being permanent and without expense, they do not fix themselves

at it, and it is not to be depended on at all times, and all seasons for a supply ; it is not formed and strengthened by age ; it is not constructed to last, it is only temporary, and as soon as any rough but transient storm blows and breaks over it, it passes away, or it may be easily dried up by various simple and slight causes. It is altered and changed, and partially destroyed, and its contents being exposed, it is mixed and tainted with doctrines destructive, and impure, and without nourishment, and from having no shelter and permanency, all kinds of noxious and hurtful and extreme doctrines may be thrown into it, and its contents are soon exhausted and thrown about everywhere, as it is not protected, but is left at the mercy of all, and by all. As it has no lasting foundation, being got up in a hurried manner, and having no more than a temporary supply to carry it on, not having a permanent spring, but trusting to chance showers which may fall into it, it is apt to be dried up, when these scarce, and not-to-be-depended on, and evanescent sources of its life, and preservation fail ; and if they irrigated and fertilized a part, it has only been for a time, yet for want of a sufficient supply, it has not effected the requisite good, because it was not sufficient for all, but only a part ; all may have got a portion, but it was not sufficient for to do a full amount of good. Or it may be the supply has failed, before it has taken effect, or reached the proper quarter, it therefore requires constant supplies of money, wherever it can be got, and it is uncertain where it is to be had, it may be got, or it may not, and for want of it, the nourishment that is requisite, is not to be had. Religion is not attractive to those who for the first time are put in its way, or who may by chance be attracted or drawn towards it, and not being alluring or inviting, the new or careless convert is not very willing to pay for it ; therefore an establishment is more likely to do good to such, and the careless, who perhaps wish to wile away the time, and will go freely to an Established church, where they get religion without paying for it, and without being noticed, as it is not uncommon for such to be there, and being there they may be attracted to religion by hearing its truths, and being impressed with, and becoming more and more impressed with them, and accustomed to religion, which was at first forbidding and dry to them, but from getting accustomed to it, it is not so now. In establishments the flow and supply is permanent, and is always to be had, and keeps the stream constantly flowing, and fertilizing, and improving all who wish it, or approach near it. The quantity does not increase with the increased wants, but it is there pure, and sends out branches which may and are pure at first, and have in themselves the power of producing a permanent fountain, which in its turn will send forth other fountains, and branches as pure and permanent, such as the Free Church. The fountain of the Established is always in its place, entire and ready to supply other fountains when they are tainted, and mixed with impurities, and by the voluntary spring seeing the purity, and good order, and preservation, and good flowing from the Established, or the mother Church, of which they are branches, they strive to keep their branch pure and perfect, and free from taint ; and so the Establishment, beholding it, tries also to prevent her fountain from decaying and degenerating. The Voluntary is apt to allow the cistern to go to

ruin and decay, and if it does so, they do not care about being at the expense or trouble of repairing it, or looking after it, and if they wish a supply again, they cannot find it, and are left without spiritual comfort, and consolation, or religious instruction. It is different with the endowed Church : it is always there, ever pure and flowing. If the other is not in ruins, it is in an imperfect state, and the contents are tainted and noxious, being mixed up with all kinds of extreme and hurtful opinions.

Voluntary ministers are apt to be subservient and too much under the power of their flocks.

Voluntary ministers are apt to be too subservient, and to be too much under the control of their flocks, and are too apt to allow the evil ways and practices, and the backslidings, and the religious failings and inattention of their flock, and especially the wealthier portion of them, to escape without checking, reproof, correcting, or admonishing, or speaking, or preaching to them with freedom and openly such doctrines as are requisite and necessary, and which their religious position as pastors, teachers, and guides, and expounders of the word, require them to do ; they cannot do all this, as their stipends depend on the good-will of their flocks, and the amount also depends on their satisfaction ; and it is not easy for a clergyman with a large family to be so bold, and upright, as not to be to a certain extent, deficient and lax in his duty, when he and they depend on the congregation for support. Some may say they would, and could do it, but they never did it ; no doubt there are some who can, but they are few, and we do not wonder at it. In some of the Voluntary congregations the church is frequently governed, by what may be termed a clique of the most wealthy, and influential members of congregations, and the rest of the flock, and the poorer portion follow heedlessly their directions, as they are the great means of supporting, and keeping the congregation together, as it is termed ; or they might disperse and leave the clergyman on nothing, as a large portion of his stipend is derived from the rent of the seats. And when a great portion of the poorer class of the congregation, headed by a wealthy supporter of the congregation, leaves the church, the loss is felt very much, and the minister is so under the control of his congregation, on whom he depends for his support, that his usefulness is very frequently very much spoilt. The stipends are frequently very scanty in remote and little peopled districts, on account of the people being poor and few ; and for want of a permanent endowment, they are not able to get an efficient pastor who will undertake the charge of them, as the stipend is not sufficient to support him ; and if he is a good and fit person, as is natural, he stays as short a time as he can, and only till he gets the opportunity of finding another and a better. The stipends of the Voluntary churches are generally a great deal too small in amount, and they are not to be depended on ; to be kept at the stated sum, they are told the congregation will try to make out a certain sum, and perhaps the congregation may increase, and it is probable it will, and it is likely then to be increased. Many frequently change from a country situation to a town congregation with a worse stipend, in the expectation that their popularity may attract persons to their church, and thus increase their stipends ; but this often fails, as towns have too many congregations, and the people who attend

them are generally of a poorer class than the Establishment, and are not very able to pay their clergyman, although they may make well filled congregations ; but there is a very great loss arising from the stipends being small generally, both in town and country, and the consequence is that they are always and very naturally looking out for better congregations ; as they are not endowed, they cannot depend on their stipends continuing the same, and by trying to get others, and leaving their former ones, their usefulness is much destroyed ; they either do not attend to their duty, or strive to gain the good-will and affection of their congregations, which is so necessary to make them useful, and if they do, by leaving them, they do them great injury, just when they were likely to do them good ; but this arises from not having good and permanent endowed stipends, and they would not be so well off, or so much respected by their congregations, if it were not that the eyes of the Establishment is on their congregations, and if they did anything that was amiss or glaring, they would be held up to public reprobation.

Establishments are more universal than they are not ; indeed it is only in very rare exceptions, that there is, or has been a country without a permanent State endowment. America may be said to be the only civilized country without an endowment ; we all know how very subservient, and time-serving, and under the control of their congregations most of her clergy are, more than the Voluntary clergy of this country are, and this is because they have no example, of a large and influential body like the Established Church of this country, to stimulate their congregations to respect, and control them less, and as an example to them, of firmness and permanency of doctrine. We see how various and extreme in their opinions are the Americans, how hurtful and prejudicial and changeable are their religious opinions ; you see nothing of that kind in this country. New doctrines, and new opinions attract and catch the fancy of the Americans ; they are more given to changes and varieties of new doctrines in religion, than they are not ; it is because they want an endowed church, as may be seen in this and other endowed churches, as to their being so much under the control of their congregations. We may only instance the opinions which are generally held by the churches, in the Slave States of the United States of America with regard to the slave question. The ministers who advocate and are opposed to the slave trade, if they do it openly, are left without congregations, and are in danger of their life, in the land of universal freedom, and especially freedom of the press, freedom of opinion, and speech, and that great and universal remedy for all the evils of a country—universal suffrage. It is in such a country of freedom, and disorder, that they take the lives of their fellow-citizens, without the least shadow of law, and without such an one being able to get assistance from the government, or his friends the chance of redress : so much for universal suffrage, which puts such a power for evil into the hands of a mob.

There are almost no congregations whose ministers dare to utter sentiments against the keeping, using, and trading in slaves ; some are even so subservient as to speak in favour of it. We are not astonished to hear some men speak in favour of it, but we are surprised to hear clergymen do it, who ought to be better acquainted

Universality
of Establish-
ments.

America an example of the working of the Voluntary principle without the counteracting benefit of an Establishment.

with the feelings of humanity than to advocate such opinions, so contrary to all the sentiments of holiness and of human sympathy and feeling. The American clergy dare not use the means given to them from their divine calling, of arguing, enforcing, convincing, and impressing their congregations of the immorality of the slave-trade, or they would lose their congregations, or be turned adrift. Such being the case with regard to such an important subject, and one which requires all their influence as pastors, and all their learning and eloquence, as well as from its being a matter of duty, and in accordance with their divine teaching, and it is necessary for them, as ministers of the Gospel, to try all in their power to persuade their hearers to check it or to put it down, and to assist others to put it down, and to encourage others to put it down, as well as to teach all and give all a clear view of the evils of it, and the unscriptural, and evil tendency, and immorality of the slave-trade. Such being the subserviency of the Voluntary clergy to the false and immoral opinions of their flocks, in the case of a subject of such moral importance as this, it cannot be wondered at if they are time-serving, and give way, and give up their own opinions, which are genuine, true, and scriptural; and their duty as clergymen in other matters of less and more importance, and in all matters which are in opposition to the feelings or interests of their flocks, however much it may be in opposition to their duty as pastors and spiritual advisers, and expounders of the truth and the true doctrines of the Scriptures; such being the case, it completely destroys the usefulness of clergymen, and it destroys entirely the purposes and ends for which they are there, and for which they have been educated, and for which they are principally required, which is to expound clearly the doctrines of Scripture, and to exhort, admonish, rebuke, and remind, and impress upon all their worldly and religious duties, and by laying the doctrines of Christianity constantly and frequently before them, they are ever keeping them in remembrance of their duty to God and to man. From this backsliding or withholding of their duty, and promulgation of the true doctrines of Christianity, the religion of the Americans has been greatly divided, and the opinions held are very diverse and superficial, and the true, and sound, and natural doctrines, from not being laid open and explained, from their clergy yielding to the opinions, and prejudices, and weaknesses, and selfishness of their congregations, the American people have given way to very extreme and relax religious principles, which have no foundation, and which have only a surface of religion on them, and do not bear the stamp or impress of true religion or Christianity. The original church of America has been divided into innumerable sects, whose opinions are as various, and they in their works leave no truly religious feeling on the people; the general effect of their doctrines is in causing a temporary excitement, but it is merely evanescent, and leaves no permanent effect. All unendowed churches have the same tendency, and their ministers are liable to lose a great part of their usefulness.

An Endowed Church a constant source of religion in all times.

The endowed church is a constant source of religion to all, and is ever going on and supplying the necessities of all, whether in good or bad times, and it is in these last times that the Voluntary church is like to fail, and it is in such times that the comforts and consolations

tions, and true and steadfast principles of religion are most required ; and in such times whether there is money to pay and keep clergymen or not, they have always their wants supplied by an endowment ; and whether other churches are rising or falling, it is a means of supplying and sending forth the Christian doctrines in a pure, simple, and natural state. Its doctrines cannot be mistaken, as they are so in accordance with the simple, and natural, and true reading of the Scriptures, and are thus so simple that all can perceive and understand its doctrines. For some it is too simple, as they like something which they do not exactly understand, but which attracts, and excites, and amuses more than it impresses the doctrines and true feelings of the Scriptures on them. Ministers of the Established Church are not under the control of their congregations, and are not obliged to accommodate themselves, and the doctrines, and duties of the Scriptures, which are in accordance to the general tenets of their church, to the selfish, irreligious feelings, desires, and inclinations and fancies of their congregations ; but in all that is requisite to make them true and useful ministers, they are as much, if not more, under the control of their congregations, than Voluntary ministers are to their congregations, and they can always expound the doctrines and duties of Christianity with boldness, and with truth in all its parts, and in all its duties where it is necessary. Voluntaries say, it is necessary to have some control over their clergy ; but if they do their duty, and are ministers of the gospel, they require no control ; and if they do not, then that is wrong, and they can get rid of them by their own laws and courts.

The Established Church of Scotland is a permanent source of religion, and it is a church where the poor may always get and hear religious doctrines and instruction without paying for them. It is thus a great advantage as a means of instructing, and keeping a large class in remembrance of their religious duties, which they might otherwise never know or attend to, if they had to pay for religion. There are many wealthy persons who will not be troubled with managing and collecting funds for the support of clergymen, and others who may not feel inclined to pay for ministers, but getting it for nothing, and without trouble, they join it, and perhaps become true and sincere worshippers, and these and all others may by this means come to see the necessity of assisting religion with their purses, in the many and various other ways in which it is necessary and useful to mankind. There are many who do not care about religion, but as most go, they may sometimes attend, as they get it for nothing and without trouble, and are not noticed whether they are absent or present, as there are many more like themselves, and in time they may become members, and regular attenders, and religious persons.

Voluntary congregations are very apt to have very unseemly and unchristianlike disputes and brawls amongst themselves, every one giving their opinion, and wishing their opinion and views of the matter to be carried out before all others ; and when opposed, or not agreed to by the others, they leave the church, or support it less by their pecuniary means, which they suppose should make their opinions be followed instead of that of others, whether they are right or wrong ; and some are not to be convinced that they are wrong ;

The members of Voluntary churches very disputatious.

but being opposed, they afterwards oppose measures for the general good, and by their influence and bad example do great injury to the congregation which they support, or rather attend; or it may be they are displeased with their minister, and one part supports the minister, and the others do not, and for years the parties are opposed to each other, and keep the church in a constant state of dispute, any thing but christianlike; or the dispute may be attended with a separation or division of the church, one party leaving the church, and getting another church; and this happens when both together are not able to keep and support their church and minister, how much less are they when divided. Such a state of things is very discreditable and ruinous to congregations, and is destructive of all religious benefit and usefulness; it is apt to cause general inefficiency of their clergy, from the small amount of their stipend, or from its only being given at will, causing many from not becoming clergy in the Voluntary church, or causing them to pay less attention, and in being at less expense than they ought, in attaining the acquirements necessary for their calling. The separation and divisions of congregations who are not able to support by endowment their ministers, is ruinous to their flocks, as well as to the interests of religion. Voluntary churches are very apt to split or separate about the electing of a minister, when the majority and the minority differ in their choice. This is a very frequent source of separation; and from some cause, if there is a separation, the minister will not take the charge of any of them, and they may not get a clergyman for one of them for years, as the majority may not have agreed about a minister, and the minority leave, because they would not agree to their choice; and the majority, who always keep the church after the minority have left, often dispute among themselves about the choice of a minister, and cannot agree, and dare not make another division, as they are not able together to support a minister, and it may be years before they elect one to please all, which they must, for fear the others may leave the church. Those who disagree and dispute are frequently bitter enemies of each other for life, in the same congregation, and oppose each other in every thing. Such a state of things is very injurious in a religious point of view, and retards very much religious improvement and instruction. If the people of an endowed church disagree with regard to the election of a clergyman, there may be a separation, but there is no delay in electing and choosing a minister, and there is no squabbling and disputing; the majority soon settle the matter, and yet not hurriedly; and the separation does almost no injury, as the endowed church remains with a permanent endowment, or stipend always the same, and is not diminished or made too small by a separation into two. But it rarely happens that there is a separation; a solitary individual or two may leave the church, and it may only be for a time, and they are never missed. Many come from the Voluntary churches to the Establishment, but few go from the Establishment to the Secession church. It seems their wrangling and disputes, and their never bringing the subject to a satisfactory conclusion, is the cause of it, as well as annoyance from fear of the members leaving the church and minister on their hands, unprovided for. In the case of a divi-

sion of the Voluntary congregation, and a separation into two, it happens more frequently than it does not, that both have too little to give to their ministers.

An endowed church is more in accordance with the principles of Scripture than an unendowed church, as an endowed church has always a provision in readiness for its religious necessities, and there is no want of it. If their flock should get lukewarm, or if the scarce times should not allow of their giving the necessary assistance, it is the first duty of all, after attending to their necessary wants, to provide for their religion, be it what it may. But there are times when this cannot always be done, and there are causes which delay and prevent it, as disputes, irreligion, and separations, and the cause of religion is delayed, and attended with great loss from these causes, and religion may even be wanting when it is required. But where there is an endowment, it is always prepared, and religion and its duties are never stopt, or hindered by worldly casualties, and the cause of religion does not suffer by it; and it is quite clear that the Scriptures require, and consider it the duty of all to have their religion fortified, and in a state of constant readiness and preparation, which it is not, where a church is not endowed, either from ancient times, or modern times, or by private endowments.

The Voluntaries of the Scotch Church do not disapprove of grants from the State which go by the name of the *regium donum*. Such is State assistance as it comes from the State. It is different with the endowment of the church: it does not come off the State, it is only protected by the State. We have heard a very eminent divine of the Scotch Voluntary or Secession Church of the Presbyterian Church, at a public political meeting, speak in favour of it. There can be no doubt that such, where it is necessary, and where there is no other means of giving, and administering religion, that it is the duty of the people, and of the body to which they belong, to accept of such a gift temporarily, if not permanently; that is to say, if the State can afford to give the grant, whatever may be the objection of the Voluntaries to public grants, still under circumstances of necessity to accept of such a grant, and to apply for it, and it is in accordance with Scripture; but if they did not accept it, or try to get it, they themselves being unable to give the necessary aid, and if the State were at the same time able to give it, it would be unscriptural, at the very least it would be a lack of duty, in not using the means for promoting and encouraging religion and religious instruction, which is for the good and salvation of all, and of the State.

We are not one of those who wish and desire endowments from the State in any shape, and more especially in the present state of the country. If the country had a superfluity of wealth, and had always a large yearly surplus of money, we would have no objection to as large endowments as they could give; but as it is at present, and as it has been since the end of the late war, and as it is likely to continue for years, we highly disapprove of all endowments from the State, unless under rare and necessary circumstances. We speak with regard to the Established Church and her Secession branches, being of the presbyterian religion, whatever name they may go under, unless where there is real religious destitution, and

want of means to give aid to certain retired, and remote, and poor districts. We would only in such cases wish or take a temporary grant. It is impossible for this country as it is, and as it is likely to continue, to be able to give a permanent grant or endowment to any great, or beneficial extent, for any purpose, or for any religion, as it has no permanent source of its own, from whence such regular supplies, can be drawn with regularity. They are not to be depended on without burdening and injuring the State. We consider it the duty of all to take as few grants as possible, whether for this or other purposes which are not absolutely necessary.

The Church
not particu-
larly benefited
by its State
connection.

Some have scouted the idea of having a Church in connection with the State. We do not see what particular benefit any particular government, whatever may be their particular political opinions, (such is what is called the State) has from their being a church which derives its revenues from the country, in the way the Church of Scotland derives her revenues, which are rather protected by the law and State for the time as trustees, than as a gift from the State or the country. Neither do we see what benefit the Scotch church derives, or ever derived, from any Government. We consider the present endowment of the Church of Scotland in the same light as a private endowment from private individuals, and that it has come under the protection of the Government, as it occurred and had its origin first in barbarous and troubled times, and it has continued so since that time; and any private endowments that have been granted to the Church have also come under the same protection as the rest, and along with the others has been called a State Endowment, but it is more properly a protection and trusteeship, to see that the fund is used for no other than religious purposes; and from the benefit the State derives from this Church she is readier to grant her assistance than any other. The Government or State (by State we mean the whole country and population) exercise no influence, and have no particular influence or jurisdiction over the Scotch Church, unless they are members or communicants of it. No doubt the Sovereign presides through her representative in the Court of the Scotch Church, called the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. It is only for a few days, but he has no power. It is only as a mark of the protection which has always subsisted on the part of the State, and is granted to the feelings generally of the Scotch, who at one time were all Presbyterians under the Establishment. It may now be said to be done only from custom, and the Sovereign may present the Church with a gift for some religious purpose. It is of no great extent. It is only given in the shape of a present to one friend from another; or, as the presence of the Sovereign is considered to be attended with benefit, so it is the case here. A benefit is granted as a remembrance of the Sovereign, or it is given as a plate at a race from the Sovereign, and as a mark of the Sovereign's affection and remembrance of her people. It is an old custom. As to clergymen using any influence in politics in favour of a ministry, it is contrary to their duty as clergymen, and their religion, and, so far as we know, they do not use any such influence (of course there are exceptions in this as in everything else). They have their own side of a political question, as well as others in a private way, but do not inter-

fere publicly in politics ; and as the Crown, Government, or State, has not any influence or control, or right of nominating them more than many private individuals, if they do use their influence, it must depend on their own views and opinions of a subject, than from any influence which the Government has over them. There is no doubt if there were attempts to get up a revolution, or form a republic, the clergy of the Scotch Church would no doubt use their influence to preserve order, and the kingly form of government, as they might consider their church, and their religion to be in danger, from those who held extreme opinions.

The king, and all kinds of political governments, and the whole State find it their interest to preserve, and protect, and to have a church that is endowed ; as, by having an endowed religion and religious instruction, the good effects which they produce are likely to be always permanent, and not to be transient, and only temporary and unsteady, as it is likely to be, where there is not an endowed church.

Interest of all governments to have an endowed Church.

A Voluntary, or opposition, or a Secession Church is of great use in counteracting the dominant tendency of churches in general,—the one watches over the movements of the other, and keeps and preserves the others from getting lukewarm, or remiss in their religious duties, and the one sees the improvement, and the good done by the other, and imitates and strives to do as much, if not better. The endowed or Established Church keeps and preserves the Voluntary Church from taking or delivering without consideration extreme or hurtful doctrines, that is, doctrines which may be attractive, but are hurtful and useless, and have an irreligious tendency, or they leave no impression and want truth, plainness, and simplicity, and they want the permanent impression of religion when it is explained and listened to as it is simply set forth in the Scriptures, without any addition of worldly religion, or religion which derives its origin from man's own intellect, or ideas which have no foundation in the Bible or its general truths. The Established Church makes the Voluntary congregation support and respect their pastor, and makes him watch over his flock and their interests, and keep them in as perfect, if not more perfect state, and in a true and religious state of perfection, as high, if not higher than that of the Establishment, and the congregations strive, and are stimulated to keep their clergymen on as good a footing as those of the Established Church, and if they had not the eyes of the Established Church on them, they would be apt to allow the dignity of their pastor to be lowered in respect, as also in worldly matters, so that he might not be able to associate, and keep the station which his important office requires that he should hold. Each church watching, and checking the errors of the other, are useful counterpoises for doing good to each, and to religion, and for preserving religion pure, and entire, and without taint, and free from all selfishness and worldliness, which are a great cause of the diminution of religious benefit and zeal.

It is for the interest of all kingdoms to have an endowed church whose revenues can only be used for the purposes of religion, and which revenues are derived from a sure and permanent source. It is a constant means of training, and bringing up all in the proper duties of public and private life, and it is a great cause of making all

obey, and preserve and respect the laws. It makes them quiet, sober, peaceable, and loyal subjects; it renders them easy of being governed and ruled in times of public commotion, trouble, and distress, and it renders them submissive and less inclined to riot, and their evil passions to burst forth in times of trouble and public clamour, and at such times, it renders them temperate in their actions and behaviour, and they are an example to others, and are a powerful means of repressing others. An endowed church is thus a great means, and an important means of saving the country great expense, and in preserving the domestic and public peace of the country; it is also a means of rendering them more temperate, and thoughtful in their language; and they are likely to be more cautious, and less hurried in suggesting, and supporting, and advocating measures which are likely to do injury, or which they are to gain and to be benefited by at the expense, and to the disadvantage of others. It is, therefore, for the interest of all governments, as a branch of governing the most useful, any government or country can have, and it is also for the interest of all the inhabitants, that they have a permanent religious source from which there is a constant, and perpetual flow of the elements of peace and quiet, and of a good, and safe, and preservative, and inexpensive government.

Many desire
to do away
with endow-
ments.

It has been wished by some to do away with this most important of all the branches of governing well, easily, and safely a kingdom. According to the experience of all nations, so far as they experience the benefit, there are few who have experienced it from the want of it; but there is one, and that not long ago. It may be seen from the effects of the destruction of all religious worship in France during the French Revolution. The greater portion of the kingdom were at so low an ebb, and there being no religion or moral feeling left whereby to control the evil passions, and curb and touch the consciences of the people of that country, that they became quite reckless of all feeling and morality of every kind, and had no sympathy or check of any kind, and raged about without having any religious control to check their senseless, and deluded feeling, insensible to the workings and movings of conscience, taught to believe and to feel and to be affected by a religious education and training kept in remembrance by the constant ministration and instructions of the clergy; and they had thus no fear of either God or man, or a remembrance of right and wrong. It is better, so far as the good government of a State is concerned, and the rectitude and happiness of a people are concerned, to have some form of religion, whether it be a formal or inanimate kind, or the worship of idols, or the Mahommedan, or Roman Catholic, or Protestant, if any of them impress, and give, and instil a principle of rectitude in their actions and dealings towards one another; and towards all, such a religion is better than no religion for the good government of a State. It is the nature of all kinds of religion to teach a respect, and fear of some superior Being, whose actions are of an upright, and more perfect nature than that of man, and who desires that man should walk with uprightness, and act towards one another with rectitude, and learn to respect and fear the Deity; and by so doing any government who protects or guards that Deity it instils into them the principles and elements of faith, truth, peace, and recti-

tude, and the people whom they govern. We say that a religion which constantly sets an example, and teaches and impresses such principles, is better than no religion.

There is a great appearance of thoughtlessness, and want of foresight, and want of gratitude in wishing to do away with an establishment which does no harm, no harm whatever, and the religious doctrines are the same as the great majority of the nation. As an Established or endowed Church it has the precedent of all ages, countries, and religions, except that of America, where we see how badly the unendowed system works in degrading their clergymen, and in causing doctrines and opinions to be preached which are not in accordance with the general principles of the Gospel, and they have not the public opinion of a large establishment to set them an example, and to stimulate them for the benefit of religion, and they have thus formed themselves into a great many different sects, and have preached, and brought forward a great variety of different doctrines, more, it would seem, from the strangeness of it to attract congregations, than for the benefit of religion.

It is doing a great injury to the cause of religion, and setting a bad example of interference, and appropriation of revenues which do not belong, in a certain sense, to the State, but have been derived from private endowments in Roman Catholic times, and which belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. The revenue is at present derived from the land of the country, and is not, and has not been used for any purpose but that of benefiting the whole country, and has done such unexampled good to all, and to the country for upwards of a century; it is not appropriated to any single district or persons. When this endowment was granted, it was for the benefit of all, and for one religious body, and this body, we may say, consisted of the whole of the people of Scotland, and all wished for it, and all were satisfied with it, and it is still used for the same purpose, and is more requisite and necessary now, than ever it was. People may be more improved, and may appear more moral, but we suspect if the generality are so religious in a pure and simple state internally, it is more external, but it is superficial, and without any enduring foundation. The religion of the greater part is identically the same, and as it is the nature of all things, when the original revenues or establishment becomes too small to answer the great increase of number or population, and when the community or body cannot afford to derive more from whence their revenues arise, to support and look after and assist this extra population or increase, it is the nature of things, that they must separate from the old and original body, and provide for themselves. Such is the case with an overpeopled kingdom, whose extra and superabundant population are sent, or go away and colonize, and form new settlements, and kingdoms as powerful, if not more powerful, than the mother kingdom. They at first hold and keep and flourish under the institutes of the old country, but in time they are apt to give up these principles for others less enduring, and are worse off, and less secure than the mother-country is when they are over-peopled; but so long as they are not so, their newly-adopted principles do no harm, but it is when the storms of over-population, and starvation, or revolution assails them, then it is that the prin-

ciples of the mother-country would preserve them, but the new, showy, and superficial and very popular, and pleasing and independent and free principles, are more hurtful than beneficial; the mother-country may not be even able to withstand such storms, but she does it longer than the colony with her new and popular and free doctrines.

As the members of the Scotch Church have increased, its revenues have not increased. Way in which secessions have arisen.

In the same way have the different branches and secessions of the Church of Scotland, as its members have increased, its revenues have always continued the same, and from there not being a sufficient number of ministers to the religious wants and instruction of the people, so have all been, to a certain extent, deficiently instructed, and faults and lukewarmness, and even a less truly religious feeling, has been an effect of it, and less attention has been paid to the whole generally, and some useful and instructive duties may have escaped attention which are necessary for the preservation and promotion of religion, and some more religious than others, and less forbearing and thoughtful than they ought to be, may have noticed defects and complained of these; but from the original revenues, although abundant at one time, being now deficient, it was impossible for the present pastors to attend to all their flocks as much as is requisite, and to all their wants so as to please all, and to preserve all in a constant remembrance, and in a full state of instruction, to keep up and preserve their religious feelings, and to make them and keep them truly religious; or it may and has arisen from want of accommodation, the churches, as a whole, not being conveniently situated, or large enough to supply the increase of members, and it may have been from some irregularity in attending to the wants of all; from there being too many for the pastors allowed to them, many have been imperfectly instructed, and some from their not being as much and frequently visited and attended as they would wish, and have felt it a grievance and want, and have even supposed themselves slighted; and such things have given them a feeling of dislike to the Establishment, and a desire for increased means of religious instruction and improvement, and on some general question, perhaps of no great importance, so far as regards the proper exposition of the Scriptures, it however gives rise to disputes and heart-burnings amongst the members, and from there being a deficiency in the means of the Establishment, they then the more readily and willingly agree to a separation from the church, as it is at any rate requisite for an extension, and also more instruction; and by having a church or body of their own, and as they would be obliged to pay for increased means of instruction, they fancy they may as well do it now, and they will also get their own way, and their tastes, opinions, and feelings gratified by this means, and from there being much heart-burnings and disputes, they at last agree to a separation; and it is only according to the nature of things, where amongst a large body there is a deficiency in the means of supporting all from an original and only fund, that many of the members go away on any quarrel, which they are the readier to take up hastily, from their not caring or wishing to stop longer; and as they think they will be better elsewhere, they then go away, provide for themselves, and form and have a separate body under their control.

It is the same with a family, as they grow up and increase, and as the capital of the father is not so great as it was when he first married, from an increase in his family, and the children, as they grow up, separate, and provide for themselves; and they separate all the sooner, if there are disagreements, and they see that there is a desire, and that it is requisite to have increased means of support; they may not have separated from any dislike of their parents, but it may be a quarrel arising from a deficiency in their means of support, and it may be a dispute as to the best means of making a small income go a far way; and it may be, that if the opinion of the one had been followed, it would have been better; but it has not been followed, and he has been subjected to wants which would not have arisen if it had been followed, and these wants are always occurring, and these keep up a constant irritation; and as it is at any rate requisite to improve the income, he fancies and knows he can do it by himself, and that he will do so, and will not make it a joint affair, but will take the chance of losing or getting, and managing and directing the whole his own way, and reap the benefit. The separation of the different branches of the Scotch Presbyterian church has arisen in very nearly the same way. There is no difference of opinion in their exposition of the Bible, as regards the religious principles and doctrines of it. There is no doubt that the most eminent divines differ in regard to the exposition of some parts of the Bible, and they may be equally learned, and equally good Christians; but it may happen that their feelings are swayed, and their opinions are biassed without their knowing it, and their judgment is veiled and prejudiced against the other without knowing it, or doing it intentionally, and they give a decision in favour of that view of the question which is in accordance to their feelings, and no one can say that they have acted partially; but still their feelings may have made them wrong. There is no doubt the general truths of the gospel are very simple and plain; and if any one will only take a simple view of these, and judge according to these, without reference to any particular and solitary passage of Scripture which he may know, he will come more readily at the truth.

For instance, the Voluntaries say that endowments, and more especially those by the State, are not in accordance with Scripture; and many of their divines are equally good and learned as those who uphold endowments, and who may or may not belong to the Established Church, who also give passages of Scripture approving of endowments. Now which is it possible to believe? We must therefore take the general sense of the Bible, unless the passage is so laid down in its plain and legible sense, that every one can understand it, without giving its words, and the plain meaning of these, any other signification than what such words usually mean. If there is a passage which two persons equally learned, good, and impartial, give opposite meanings to, we must not be guided by such, but take the general meaning, and principles, and morality of the Scripture to clear the matter, and we cannot go far wrong, whether we are doing right or wrong. In the same way, some say patronage is unscriptural, and others say that it is not. The last

do not say that it is necessary, and required by Scripture, but only that the Scriptures do not forbid it.

Right of the
Church alone
to its reve-
nues.

As the revenues of the Church were derived from the soil when land was of no great value, and as they were part of the revenues of the Roman Catholic Church, and as most of the lands were given, or taken by the nobles or gentry, and appropriated to themselves, or presented to them by the Sovereign, and as the Presbyterian Church was the true heir and descendant of the Roman Catholic Church of Scotland, they had the first right and claim to the revenues which they derived from the lands, before the nobility and gentry. Many of the lands which belong to the nobility, and for which they paid nothing, and which were not even granted to them in a legal manner at the fall of Popery in Scotland, they have less right to the lands and revenues from them, than the Church of Scotland has to her portion ; but they not being, as it were, a noticeable or corporate body, and their lands and revenues not being entailed, as those of the Church of Scotland, they sold or lost them, or it was forgotten in the course of time how they were got, or they might as well have picked out all who got religious lands, or who possess them now, and dispose of them for any purpose they might think proper ; but we do not suppose this would be legal now, but it would be more legal than taking the present revenues from the Church of Scotland, which are derived from the same source, but which they had a legal right to as heirs, or as a religion which was substituted by all for the Roman Catholic religion, and as the lands and revenues were not possessed by the people, but only used for religious purposes ; and as most, if not all of them, were not derived from the State, but were private gifts of kings and charitable individuals, and acquisitions got by their own industry and surplus wealth, and therefore could not be appropriated to other purposes than that for which they have been, or a similar substitute ; as they might as well say that if the present Free Kirk were to join the Establishment with their churches and revenues, from whatever source they may be derived, that these permanent revenues belonged to and were derived from the State, and the multitude and Voluntaries would say so, and wish to be relieved from such a burden on the country, as supporting ministers who belonged to a different religion. Now it may happen, if the Free Church were joined to the Establishment, her revenues might be mortgaged or lent upon the security of the land of the country, and they would get a yearly sum for this principal they lent on the land, and it would be a permanent loan, and it might be so settled as to be regular, that it might keep up or down with the value or fall of property or money in the course of years, from improvement of the times or otherwise. It might be so fixed as to get a certain per-centage on the yearly value or produce of the property, and in time it might be considered a burden on the State, and as State property, as it only supported one species of religion. In the same way they say the Establishment is a burden, but with the same right, as their endowments never came off the State, only being under the protection of the State. The right of the State was that of a protective right over an entailed endowment ; but as the revenues were not great which were derived from land, and as it is from land, and

from the productions of the soil that the present revenues are derived, and as the land was not of great value at that time when the present church got the right, and as it did not belong to any one, but was a part of the revenues of the Established Church, and as many of the lands have changed hands since that time, except that portion or share in it which belongs to the Church; and as the neighbouring proprietors in Roman Catholic times might agree to undertake the cultivation and management of it for the Church, and give them the revenues arising from it. Or it might be they gave these lands belonging to the Church to the estates and land from which the Church revenues are derived, if they would give such a portion of yearly value or revenue, which they would hold themselves bound to pay, and which would be burdened and entailed on their estates. And this yearly portion of the products or rental of the estate which the Church received, might be less than the yearly value of the portion of property which the Church had given away, as the rest might be granted or allowed for managing the Church's portion, as by being done in this way they were at no trouble in producing and collecting their revenues. Such being the state of matters, the proprietors of land have no right to complain of the tithes or revenues of the Church burdening them, as they bought and buy the land with this burden on it, and pay for it accordingly, and the Church has a prior claim to their share of it than the present proprietors; and it might be as well and better said, that the Church had a better claim to the estate than the present proprietor of it, and they would derive more revenues to the Church, and that the present proprietor's share of the land took away from the profit of the Church. But neither can complain of the other, or have any right to the other's share, as they are the same property, but portions or shares of it are under different proprietors. And the proprietor buys and sells lands, and pays for them according as there may be a large, or small share held by any other person or body, as the Church, and he makes his bargain accordingly, and it is his own blame if he gives too much for it, and does not make by it; but he or any one else has no right to the share of the Church, but he has the best right to complain of the burden, as it may be called or supposed, but he has no right.

The nation have no right to complain of the burden and hardship of paying for a religion which they do not profess. The burden does not rest on them. They never paid for the clergy. The revenues are derived from portions of land from the Roman Catholics; many of whose revenues had been got by private gift and grants at various periods. The inhabitants of towns have no reason to complain of the burden, unless in a few large towns, as they or the country are at no burden to support the Church. The revenues of the Church is the private property of the Church, as well as any estate is the private property of its proprietor, and has a better right, and a longer claim to be considered so, than most estates, and also from the great and unprecedented good which it has done, and which it does, and that for all without exception, in so far as the extent of its revenues will allow of its doing, which are not used lavishly, or heedlessly squandered. It may be less useful to the many from a deficiency of revenue, but it is more useful than ever it was to the

The nation have no right to complain of the burden of supporting the Church.

number for whom its revenues were originally received to instruct; and it is still a permanent spring for educating and instructing the many, by its always perpetuating and preserving religion, and educating and instructing the poor. It is always there when others fail, and thus perpetuates and keeps religion flowing, and its good effects from ceasing.

Right of towns to complain of the burden of paying tithes.

Some large towns complain of the burden of supporting established ministers; but the lands on which their houses were built, were burdened with this, and when the houses were built, they consented to pay this tax to be allowed to build them; and they sold the houses, and received a rent sufficient to pay and remunerate them for building and paying this tax; and most of the houses may have changed proprietors and been rebuilt within these 50 or 60 years, more or less; and the price given for them has been in accordance with the value given for them at the time, and the burdens or mortgages which were also on the property,—and the Church tax is a perpetual mortgage, and the Church has a prior and longer claim than they have to their portion of the property, or from the length of time and permanency of possession to your portion of their property, the Church has the first right to be satisfied, which shews such to be the case; and if people will buy houses and property, they ought only to pay for them according to their value, and what they are likely to continue and to be worth; and this includes the portion of it which belongs to the Church; and if they are burdened with this more than the house or property will bring, it is their own blame for purchasing it. The tax is a burden on the property, not on the tenant; but as the tenant pays the rent, the Church, as being the oldest shareholder, has the first right to her share; and if the tenant does not pay his rent, the landlord or officers of the Church are obliged to use the proper means to get it, as it is a part of the Church property, and it is and was only allowed to be built on such conditions.

John Knox the cause of Scotland getting endowments.

The seceders from the Established Church have no right to consider and object to endowments from their being unscriptural, as he who all parties consider to be the true, and wise founder, and means of preserving the Church, and fixing it on a sure basis, was a favourer of an Establishment, and saw no other way of preserving it, and supporting the clergy permanently, than by endowments. It was through the influence and persevering entreaties of John Knox at the court of the sovereign of this country, and his stirring up the people for the purpose, that was the cause of Scotland having an Establishment, and from having this, a pure and simple religion for rich and poor, without cost, through the many long and disastrous ages which have elapsed since that time. Without such an endowment, or permanent revenue, Scotland would have been at this day Episcopalian. Mary Queen of Scots was a Roman Catholic. Her learned and pedantic son was an Episcopalian, and had an inveterate dislike to the Presbyterians and their long religious exhortations, and to their very rigid and strict discipline; and most of the nobility, at least many, approved of it, although they were not adherents. The endowment was a bond of union and an object of some value which always kept the worldly together; and it and their religion, and the benefits arising to it from its endowment, was a bond amongst the

religious and good. The sovereigns after James—as the two Charleses—were Episcopalian, if the second Charles was not a Roman Catholic in his heart; and his brother James, who at first was Episcopalian, but openly avowed the faith of Roman Catholics afterwards. Such being the feelings of the sovereigns, there is little doubt it was the establishment or endowment which preserved the Presbyterian religion: and if it had not been that, she would have been Episcopalian. It is more than probable she would, as her religion had been kept up, and preserved without expense to any, a great cause of its preservation; for if it had depended on voluntary contributions, it might, and would have gradually fallen to the ground; and instead of being the religion of a whole nation, it might have only been the religion of a few; it would have been called a sect: at its origin, the people could not and would not; and the times being so troublous and barbarous would not allow of regular voluntary contributions, and it would have gradually declined and decayed in these dark and perilous times when it first arose, and it would not have been upheld and supported when dark days and times fell on it, during the times of the Charleses, and of James Duke of York, and latterly King of Great Britain, when Scotland was almost Episcopalian, except some of her poor inhabitants who still held and continued in the faith which their Presbyterian Church had been the means of rearing them in, and they, when her Establishment failed, were a means with their pastors of preserving her religion, and stimulating and keeping others in remembrance of it. If it had not been the permanent revenue seized by the king and nobles, and which was got by John Knox, Scotland might at this day have been an Episcopalian country. It was her Establishment that was a means of teaching, and impressing the truths of the Presbyterian religion on her people for a long time, without trouble or expense, and by doing so, made them cherish, and love it when another religion was attempted to be introduced, and when her revenue was taken away; if she had not had at first a permanent revenue, she would not have had, and made so many zealous and faithful adherents, as voluntary contributions would not have supported ministers to make so many adherents, and to spread their religion over the whole land; and the religious of the Presbyterian religion being few, by the voluntary system and assistance, the greater part of the people would have easily become followers, and promoters of the Episcopalian religion, when it was first attempted to be introduced by James VI., and continued so until the time of William of Orange, with more or less success; and Scotland would have been an uneducated, irreligious, and unimproved land in every respect.

The Presbyterian religion is so simple, and so easily understood, and so truthful, and so impressive and unartificial, it might be said to be nature cultivated, or cultivation raised to perfection, with the means we have from nature alone; its morality is so much in accordance for what is necessary with worldliness, or with the strictness and fair, and faithful dealing with one another in the every-day concerns and bargains of this world; and which are so necessary for business and justice to go on with impartiality, all, however illiterate and ignorant, soon become acquainted with its truths and precepts,

Simplicity of
the Scotch re-
ligion.

and can direct others in them ; and it is so in accordance with the plain, open, and simple meaning of the Bible, without any deviation, however small, or addition to it, that this is always a rule of direction to guide them, and teach them without any other assistance except that of prayer, which is only asking from God such desires and necessities for themselves and others as they may require or wish, and which are without selfishness, but in accordance with the truths of the Divine Word and its general principles, these desires or necessities may be spiritual and religious, or they may be worldly and of this life.

The simple meaning of the Bible, the rule of direction in religion.

The Bible is always a rule of direction to guide them, and to teach them without any other assistance, and when religious instruction, and a pastor is not within their reach, and they can guide, direct, and teach the young and others by this true, simple, plain, and impressive volume, that all have religious instruction without other aid, and are thus kept in constant remembrance of their duty to God and to man. It was owing to this simplicity and plainness, and open and easily understandableness of its doctrines, and which are only the general principles of the Bible, that preserved the Presbyterian religion in the wilds, and in the hearts of the otherwise poor, ignorant, barbarous, and illiterate. It is its plainness, simplicity, and truthfulness without bigotry (most religions at first have this tendency when it is amongst an ignorant people, and many always have it whether ignorant or learned) or self-approbation, or thought of anything but serving God, as it is plainly and simply laid down in the Scriptures without artificial assistance to attract converts, or audiences, that renders it so easily understood by all, and every one knows when a pastor or other is preaching or doing his duty, by reference to the plainest and simplest truths of this book ; it was this simplicity and plainness without artificial means, that all could teach themselves the truths of Christianity if they could only read ; and if they could not, its doctrines were so simple and easily explained and understood, and were found to be in accordance and so necessary for their dealings in every-day life, and with one another, that those who could not read were easily instructed and impressed with it, and saw the necessity for it, even in their every-day dealings with one another ; there is no pomp, ceremony, or formality in it—all are held alike, and worship alike, the rich as well as the poor ; it may be taught in the cottage, in the open air, or in the gorgeous cathedral without a moment's warning or preparation, by merely opening the Bible and reading a portion of its simple, and divine truths, almost without any comment on it.

We cannot see any reason for wishing, and crying out about doing away with, and appropriating the revenues of the church ; it is only a forerunner, and shews the tendency of the times, and the pitch or height to which the democratic, and revolutionary spirit, and constant unsettledness, and desire for change and self is carried, without consideration of present, or future consequences. We see its effects in the French Revolution, when that great barrier to immorality, and check upon the licentious, and unbridled passions of the multitude, religion and a religious Establishment were thrown down. It may not prevent it at first, but it is a great means of checking, and retarding it when

the evil passions of the multitude are cooled. The Free Church, from being endowed, and being a private body, is likely to be permanent; and its revenues will not on any account be seized under pretence of belonging to the country, and this will always be a great source for religious instruction, and preserving a religious feeling amongst the people, as it has been a great means of supplying the very great religious want which was required.

Those who are now opposed to the endowment of the Established Church would never have existed but for it. But for the endowment of the Established Church, the branches of the Established Presbyterian Church would never have existed at the present day, or the people of Scotland would not have been that religious, and well-instructed people which they are. If it had not been for her endowment, there might have been little religion in the land of any kind. It is an endowment which has been preserved through early, and illiterate, and dark ages, and perilous and barbarous times, up to the present day, and we are therefore astonished at any one opposing, and trying to alienate its revenues to other purposes than that for which they are at present used, as all know that they are not a burden which any one has a right to complain of, as its revenues are not used for any improper purpose, than that for which they are at present used, nor are they squandered or misused in any way, and those who get its revenues are not too well paid, and they give a full amount of value for what they receive, and more than can be reasonably expected from what they do get; and as it is done for the benefit of all, without exception, who like to take advantage of it, so far as its amount will allow, and as it has been the great means of our having any true religion in the country, and as almost all the other branches scarcely differ from her in any respect, and as it is to her they owe their origin and training, and as it is in her principles and doctrines they teach, and it is her religion they propagate, and as it is through the principles they have derived from her that they do any good, and that they are what they are, and it is through, and by her that they flourish, and have flourished so much, and let them look to any other body and see how they have progressed, and they have the proof of it. It is unreasonable, and unwise, and ungrateful, as well as thoughtless and envious on their parts, to wish to do away with, or distribute her revenues. If distributed they would really do very little good to each purpose to which they might be given. The stipends and their number are so small, they do more good as they at present are in doing one thing perfectly, than doing a dozen imperfectly. More good is at present done than by applying it to educational purposes. It is to a certain extent used for the purposes of giving religious education.

The trying to do away with endowments, is like casting away and destroying an old, and faithful servant or friend, or parent, who has saved your life, and who has brought you up, and who has set you up with rectitude and success, and who has set you up in the world, and has given you the means of being what you are, and you now cast him from you when you suppose you do not require his farther services, or use to yourself, although he may be doing the same good, and benefit to others, that he did to you, and even with better

The Establishment the cause of the existence of the other branches of it.

The destroying of the Establishment is like killing a parent.

results, and that there are those who still require such assistance. So it is with the Established Church of Scotland, and her branches of all kinds that have seceded from her, and who are what they are through her means alone, and without her, they would never have existed.

The Establishment the great cause of Scotland's prosperity and improvement.

There is no doubt the people of Scotland are the enlightened, religious, educated, persevering, trust-worthy, industrious, and faithful people they are, and that above all other nations from her Established Church, and without it she would not have been such. She has been a great means, first by herself, and she continues to be so still, according to her means, more than any other, and through her offsets or branches of promoting religion and instruction, and she still does it as effectually, and to a greater amount, than she ever did her branches; holding a doctrine the same as she does in every respect, and which she learnt them, we are astonished to know what can be their reason for trying to take her revenues, which are a means of her doing so much good, and the want of which is the cause of their doing less good than they would, and also if they did not see, and try, and strive to imitate the good of the Established Church. They say it is unscriptural, but they do not shew the harm of it, or prove that it is so according to their proof. It only shews the greater necessity for it. It must arise in part from envy at being obliged yearly to dole out grudgingly a small sum, no more than adequate, and barely sufficient to support the dignity of their pastors, who are worthy, from their education, and the good which they do, of more than they get, and that ought to be endowed, and on a permanent footing, and enlarged, so as to keep them up in a state befitting their situation, and great responsibility, and they ought to be so independent of their congregations (and we see no harm arising, or that has arisen, from such an independency on the part of the Established clergy) that they may give the true meaning and apply it, and teach others their proper duty, without being obliged to restrain, and give up teaching what is right, withholding the true meaning of any part, because it may be offensive to some of their congregation.

Necessity of being prepared with a substitute for the Establishment.

The Established Church of Scotland ought to be upheld until they find, and give, and have ready a substitute for it; but on no account ought they to give up their revenues to be used for other purposes, until they get a substitute, in the shape of a permanent endowment. Now as the question has been openly, and publicly debated with regard to taking the revenues from the Established Church, and has been and is approved of by many candidates, as well as members of Parliament, it is now necessary, when it has come to be openly debated and approved of, to be prepared to oppose it, as well as to be prepared to find a substitute for it: there is little use in trying to preserve it, when the people have a majority, and when candidates and members will vote for its alienation, to be chosen as members of Parliament; and we have the experience more and more every day, how useless it is to oppose measures, and how all, from being strongly opposed at first, have at last given way to the clamours of the multitude. If they once get a part, they will have all; and it is therefore better to be prepared for such an event, and take time for its accomplishment in a full, proper, and efficient state, than to wait

and oppose them ; and when its fall takes place, you are not prepared for it, or you have made up your mind for it when you have lost your endowment, and few will assist to form an endowment. (If you take the whole yearly sum that is paid to the Church of Scotland, you will find it does not amount to so much as you would imagine. You may have an idea of it from taking a glance at the stipends in your own neighbourhood, for miles round, and the sum will appear really small ; and if you exclude the glebes, it will look much smaller—they are not felt as a burden.) It is better at once to take advantage of the present endowment, and use it as a part, and as a means of, and great assistant, in carrying out the plan of an endowment by the church itself, without the assistance of the country ; and it is as well to take time in doing it, and to do it gradually ; and by shewing and proving to all your intentions and views, no one will try to bring down, or take away the revenues until the plan has been accomplished. If you were to oppose the multitude, and interested persons, they would get a part, and would not rest satisfied until they got the whole ; but if you laid before them a plan, and if this plan were reasonable—(there is no doubt that any plan is reasonable, by which the Church gives up revenues, either wholly or in part, which belong to her, and with which the country have no right, but that of seeing that they remain secure, and are appropriated, and applied to the purposes to which they are at present, and have been used)—in so far as giving time for such an important alteration being made, and as to the means of doing it, an act of Parliament might be got to approve of it—(or it might be done without it ; but in case the people might afterwards disapprove of it, although they approve of it now, it is as well to get their sanction and bond, so as to hold and bind them, and which is an act of Parliament.) But the multitude are so hurried, thoughtless, and senseless, that even before the act was carried out, they would hurry, and disarrange, and destroy the whole measure after they had agreed to it—there is no trusting to the good faith of the multitude, and the interested : until the time of its being fully carried out, no one ought to interfere to alienate the revenues of the Church derived from the country. We have the possibility of such a plan being possible, without the great assistant means of the Established Church : we see it in the instance of the established Free Church of Scotland, who in the course of two or three years have raised subscriptions to a very great amount, and built churches, and mansees, almost in number to equal the churches of the Established Church. After such an example of zeal and liberality, we do not see how the Established Church may not gradually, and easily effect an endowment of the same kind, in the course of ten, twenty, or thirty years ; and this is no long time for such a purpose.

It might be done by getting the heritors to give up their right to seats, and letting all the seats, excepting a portion set apart in different parts of the church for the poor, and irregular attenders. The seats let would bring a good annual sum, and the wealthy members and friends of the church might give large subscriptions for a private accumulating fund to go into the general fund ; and it might be done effectually, and with certainty, by making the congregation give

A substitute
for endow-
ments.

the half of the minister's stipend. If it were L.200 a-year, they ought to subscribe L.100 a-year, and lay aside the other L.100 to accumulate ; and in twenty years the whole accumulations, with interest, might bring an interest of L.100 a-year, and they would thus have an endowment of L.100 a-year free of the country ; and if they wished it, they might relieve the land of L.100 of the yearly stipend, if it had a right to it, or was a burden on the country, and it might be used for purposes of education, church extension, or for the poor. The sum arising from seat-rents and private subscriptions, in the course of twenty years, will amount to a handsome sum, which may at the least realize an interest of L.100 a-year. The seat-rents of each church,—say the average number of sittings in all the churches amounts at the lowest to 400 sittings that pay, and that each sitting pays 2s. 6d., it will bring a sum yearly of L.50 for each church ; and this, when accumulated for twenty years, with interest, the interest of the whole will amount to a considerable sum.

The glebe lands, and the manses, and churches might be given up to the church. The glebe lands which are not felt as a burden, would bring a good yearly sum from interest, on the sum for which they might be sold, or rented at. They are frequently very well situated, which enhances their value and would attract purchasers.

The heritors, to get rid of the building of churches, and manses, and repairing of the same, would give a principal sum, amounting to something less than the value of the churches and manses in their several districts, and the interest on this sum by accumulating, would build, and repair churches and manses, and the principal sum by being less, than the heritors would have to pay at present for building and repairing churches, &c., they would agree to it, by getting relieved of the future burden of it ; and from its being less than it would cost them in the old or usual way, it would be doing away with a constant annoyance, and application on their purses, though a just one ; and it would also be better for them, as the public, would have it, at any rate, if they alienated the church revenues ; and it would be better for them to give it to the church, as it would save them the expense also of assisting to build new churches, which they might require, if they attended the Established Church of Scotland without her old revenues.

So far as regards any benefit to landlords by the alienation of the revenues of the church, they will be worse off than ever, as they will always have to pay the tithes, whether the church gets them or not ; and also the sum required for building and repairing churches, and manses may be required for other buildings, so far they will be no better off for the change. Who feels the burden ? the landlord or who ? So far as the landlord or proprietor of land is concerned, he or they will always be burdened. He may be inconvenienced by the churches being removed out of his district, from the population not being sufficient to support a minister, and he will also require to pay for his seat, and also to support the minister, and also for the building and repairing of churches, &c., to which he may belong : the advantages and benefits to proprietors of land will not therefore be great.

Or from the congregation subscribing, and getting up the amount ^{Another way} at once by subscription, an endowment might be formed in many of endowing. places, or in ten years ; but there are many small places too poor to get up the sum among them, it would therefore require to be a general fund, for this reason alone, but also as a means of keeping all united. The places which were too poor, might, by being assisted, get it up, or take a longer time to realize it ; all stipends above L.200 a-year might be diminished to L.200 a-year, except in larger towns where it is more expensive to live, and they might be allowed more. Where a stipend is L.400 a-year, L.300 a-year might be taken off this and laid aside to accumulate for a certain time, the congregation would make up the stipend to L.250 or L.300 a-year, as, where the stipend is large, we may generally consider that they are wealthier than where the stipend is small, and that the congregation is also larger ; and according as the stipend is large or small, so will the sum to be taken off to accumulate be large or small ; you only take off a half or more as the congregation can afford to make up the sum, the more they can make up the better, and in the course of 20 years these accumulated sums, with their accumulated interest, would amount to a principal sum that would bring a yearly interest that would amount to a half of the present stipends, and thus a half of the present revenue might be left for purposes of education, &c., or it might be left to accumulate for other 20 years, and congregations might subscribe, and from the sums arising from seat-rents, &c., in the course of 40 years a larger principal sum, and yearly revenue might be got than the church at present possesses. If you do not wish to do away with all the present revenues, a half might be left with the church, and another half given for other purposes.

From these sources, and by some, and any, and most of these means, could an endowment be formed for the Church of Scotland, if her present revenues were taken from her, to which no one but herself has the shadow of a right, and no one can even complain of its being a burden, so far as they have a right to complain.

No stipend ought to be under L.150 a-year with a manse ; and ^{Amount of} when the whole amount has been accumulated, each should have stipend. L.200 a-year, and the church ought not to be satisfied until they can raise the principal sum to yield a revenue which will give this sum yearly to each of its ministers : in large towns it may be more. If each gets this from the general fund, with a manse, all the ends of an endowed church will be effected by it as she is at present ; and if their congregations think fit, they can give them more.

A very good way of accumulating and getting a sum by gradual ^{A way of raising a fund.} means, is in the way of a life insurance ; and a sum might be got this way for the Established, or for Voluntary churches, who ought to endow themselves, and free themselves of the yearly annoyance, and difficulty of paying their stipends, or of not being able to pay it by the death of some of their wealthy members, or by many of the congregation going elsewhere. If a few of the churches were to set the example, all would follow it. It might be begun in the large towns, where the congregations are wealthy, and where the members are more liberal in their ideas ; and ministers might get a few of the wealthy, and influential members of their congregations to set it a-

going, and get the others to approve of it, and the elders, and the Secession Church, would be as useful and influential as any. It could be easily done. They have the example of the Free Church. There is no other way by which the Established Church will preserve itself, and its usefulness, and continue to do good to the cause of religion, than some such means as we have hinted at. There can be little doubt, that as a matter of right, the revenues of the present Church cannot be alienated to any other purpose, than that for which it is at present used ; but now-a-days, right has nothing to do with it in the eyes of the public ; it is self-interest or convenience that carries the day. As the alienation, or robbery of the revenues of the Established Church has been publicly debated, there is little doubt they will alienate the revenues, but it will not relieve the heritors, as they have no right to it ; it may generally improve all, and relieve all, by using it for educational purposes, or for the poor ; but even these purposes will not be better than that for which they are at present used ; and it would not even be a relief to all, as many would require to pay for ministers. But unless we had known the usual tendency for the last 20 years (that is before the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill was carried) of all measures that have been publicly debated, and which, although at first opposed by majorities, from belief in their not being for the general good, or from interested motives, or from their not having any legal right to do so, as only being a precedent for defrauding one and all of their legal rights at any time it was thought fit, yet have been carried by those who try, and pass all kinds of measures for their own purposes, and which they fancy are to relieve or benefit themselves, without looking to the consequences, or looking to what they have or are doing ; and they do it recklessly, without ever thinking of getting, or giving time to get, a substitute ; and if they do promise time, they do not allow it. We would strongly advise all Voluntaries, as well as the Establishment, to follow the unexampled sacrifice, and wisdom, and liberality of the Free Church, in endowing a Church, nearly as great in extent as the Establishment, in such a short space of time, and it only shews what can be done where there is a desire, if they have the inclination, to open their purses for the good, and benefit of that religion, for which their forefathers fought and suffered so much to preserve, and which is like to fall in times of peace, but not times free from loss, and ruin, and change ; and it is only by attending, keeping up, and preserving the religious wants of the people, that such results are likely to be prevented. If the money were to be misapplied, or squandered, we would not be surprised at their refusing to be liberal ; but when such has not occurred, and when there is no chance of such happening, and when it is in support of their religion—a religion whose doctrines are similar, and a subject for which many of them would lay down their lives to preserve, rather than any thing else, and when it is considered that this same establishment has been the great cause of Scotland's commercial prosperity, from its impressing and instilling into her people those virtues, and an enterprising and honest and upright spirit, which are so necessary for its success, and an education to carry on, and understand these, and a religion, whose doctrines have taught, and made them preserve

their honesty in their dealings, without which no commercial or mercantile bargaining or trading can permanently succeed. It has raised them foremost in all places of trust and authority wherever they may be ; from the highest situation to the lowest, Scotchmen are found in all places, and climates, and situations, trusted, respected, and wealthy, and doing good, and benefiting all and themselves ; and they owe all this to their Established Church, which has impressed, strengthened, and confirmed their native nationality of caution, perseverance, sobriety, industry, and honesty. There have been very few or no revolutions caused by her natives, and very few riots or mobs destroying every thing, as in other countries, since she had a Presbyterian Establishment, and she and her race command the respect of all, wherever the one is heard of, or wherever the other may be, and they are trusted and liked where all others are not ; and it is also a means of keeping up the dignity, and respect of other churches in the land, and of their congregations to their pastors ; and we would advise all the Establishments in the land at once to prepare for a change, when all religions are changing, and where there is nothing but changes, and where every thing is changing, and to do this as the best, and surest, and only means of preserving their Church, and perhaps their country. It is not time to think about it, and set about preparing for it, when it is too late, and when the blow has been struck ; there is nothing like being prepared for it, and doing it with a good grace.

The English Church, with her exorbitant church revenues, and her very highly paid clergy, will be eagerly pounced on, and her revenues seized, and she will thus be a cause of bringing down the Scotch Church, with her small, and almost miserable, and scarcely noticeable revenues, which must also fall, if the English Church falls. Time cannot be refused for making the necessary arrangements ; but it would be as well, although a certain time were asked and allowed, to hasten the movement, and finish the arrangements as soon as possible ; and if it could be done in a few years, as the Free Church is an example, you have the remainder of the money for the rest of the allotted time to use for other purposes, and it is little enough that you get the whole benefit of it, when you make such a sacrifice in giving up what is your own. If you attempt to oppose the multitude, and they get a part, you rest contented, and think no more of it ; but the multitude are not so easily satisfied, and they will not be content until they have all, and more than all, if they wish it, and there is an appearance of their gaining a part ; by making and laying your own arrangements before them, they will the readier agree to it, and keep faith with you, than if you oppose them and they get a part ; and if you then ask for an arrangement of your own, you will be refused it, and they will have all, or if they agree to it, they will not give you time to make your arrangements. It is therefore better to be prepared, and lay your plans, without being compelled to do it, or from the will of the multitude, and your plan will be more likely to succeed. If they get a part, they will have all.

We think in the case of doing away with the Church of Scotland endowments, it is a subject more for a legal decision than a question

Appropriation of the revenues of the Scotch Church is more a subject for a legal than a parliamentary decision. for a parliamentary decision, and we think such an opinion ought to be got from all the different judicial tribunals, for this as well as many other matters which are brought before a time-serving and subservient Parliament, without any idea whether it is legal or not, and is decided as they please, because it pleases their constituencies, without any regard to right or wrong. In this case, we do not suppose the nation has any right to alienate the revenues of the Church of Scotland to any other purpose, than that for which they are at present used.

The English Church ought to be prepared for the alienation of its revenues. At all events, it is as well to be prepared, and we do not see why the English Church does not do the same, (no doubt all the large stipends would require to be reduced if the whole revenues were attempted to be raised by voluntary subscription, and it would be difficult to be accomplished), and apply, and use, and distribute its revenues more equally amongst its clergy. One is as good and useful as another; and the poorer perhaps do more good than the better stipended. We do not see the use of paying so very high incomes to a body as that of the bishops. There are plenty of the clergy who could do all their duties on L.500 a-year, but none need get more than L.2000 a-year. Perhaps the primate might get L.3000, but even this is far too high. We have as eminent men clergymen in Scotland who have no more than L.500 a-year, and they do every thing in the way of regulating the Church, which is as perfectly managed as the Church of England. We do not see how they can attend to their religious duties, and attend in Parliament. It only shews that their religious duties are not great. It is only necessary for them to do so when any subject affecting religion, or the Church is to be debated. It has been said it is owing to their being Lords of Parliament that their income is so high; but incomes of L.2000 a-year are quite sufficient for this purpose. We do not grudge the money of the English Church—it is its unequal distribution, when by doing so, so much good could be done which is requisite, and which cannot be done. The prime minister's income, one would think, of so great a nation, would be high, but really it is small in comparison to the primate of the English Church; and when one thinks of it, it is not sufficient for so important a person. If we look at the pay of the other professions, they bear no comparison to it, considering their duties. Look at the stipends of the clergy of the Church of Scotland, whose stipends do not average L.400 a-year, and no single one has above L.500 a-year, except a few exceptions, and this depends on the crops; yet it is as efficient a Church as that of England, and her people are as religious and well educated, if not better, than those of England. Bishops with incomes above L.1000 a-year are not required. Their religion does not require, or approve that they should have much more, and especially when it is at the expense of religion, and of others, and of the most useful of her clergy—the poor clergy as they are called—whose stipends are scarcely sufficient to support them, and who do all the duties. It is unreasonable to keep up, and pamper men at the expense of religion; and when so much extra religious accommodation is required, and cannot be had; we think that the other clergymen's stipends ought to be more equally distributed, and none ought to be higher than L.500 a-year, which is as good, and better

Exorbitancy of some of their stipends as money is to be had at present, and religious instruction required.

than men of most other professions can get, and when so many of their brethren of the same Church are doing the duties and work on that which will barely keep them. It cannot be said that it is not enough to keep up their dignity, and the expense of their education; but a sum which is barely sufficient to supply the necessary wants of life of their own brethren, is certainly far less than sufficient to keep up the dignity, and pay for the expenses of their education. It is quite contrary to all religious morality that such should be the case, and it is time to guard against it, and remove such a very reasonable cause of complaint against the English, or any Church in such times as these, when the cry is that the Church is in danger, and when every thing else is in danger, and that without doubt; but we would advise them to endow themselves at their own expense, or that of their revenues, as soon as possible, or else they may lose all, whatever may be their right to their revenues, at any rate to distribute and regulate their revenues more equally, and not keep some pampered and better paid than any in the land, while others of the same body who do the work, and are as respectable, and well educated (or they ought not to be there) as themselves, are in a state bordering on starvation.

If the English Church loses her revenues, her people are badly prepared for it. She may only be said to be beginning to feel, and appreciate the effects of religion; whereas Scotland has felt, and truly enjoyed religion and its instructions under her Establishment and vigorous branches for long years, and is more and more, and better prepared for an alienation of her revenues since the rise of the endowed Free Church. It will no doubt do great injury to the English the want of a permanent source of religion without cost. If she could get a branch equally vigorous and endowed as that of the Scotch Free, in the same proportion of strength to the English Church as the Free Church is to the Scotch Church, she might not be afraid of her fall, or of the struggle which is likely to take place to get possession of her valuable, and if properly used, her most invaluable, and useful revenues—more useful for the purposes of governing, and preserving the authority of a government over a people, than any other revenues or means of governing.

Many are willing, and many have a great desire, to do away with the Established Church of Ireland, but have not, and they say will not, on any account do away with the Established Churches of England and Scotland, and there are very many who say the same thing. If such individuals agree to the one, they will soon agree to the others, and they will then get all, at least most of the Irish members, to agree to the downfall of the other two, who see their own given up, and will not take an interest or desire in the other two to be kept up; and they will also have all those who are strenuous in doing away with all State endowments, and they are many, and are a very influential and large class, in fact those who even very lately, and who no later than a year ago, after their separation from the Establishment, and who then supported Established principles, although separated from it, many of them now wish to do away with endowments. It only shews that if you once give way in any point, you must be prepared to give up the greater part, if not the whole. It also shews how little dependence is to be

Great wish to appropriate the Irish revenues.

placed on all who at present support it most strenuously ; it is as well to be prepared for it, and get a substitute of the best kind, as the circumstances of the case may and will require and permit. If there are a number who at present are in favour of doing away with the Irish Church—if it is given up, it may be many of the English Establishment will yield and vote for it. Then the Irish members, perhaps before not caring very much, or seeing the great utility for Establishments, but from long association with their own, they supported it ; but this being done away, this sympathy is lost for another Establishment, and many are angry that Scotch and English Established, or other members, did not support them, they also vote for the downfall of the Scotch endowments ; and if the Scotch lose theirs, then they in their turn get a substitute, and vote against the English. Such is the nature of things, and the English Church falls. If they commence their attack on the English Church first, they may be beat, as she will have all the Irish and Scotch, as well as her own Established members, to support her ; and if they succeed in preventing her downfall, they will not try the downfall of the others ; but it is only a chance if even with all this assistance they can support it.

The English clergy, if they experience a downfall, will in such a case be very much reduced in their stipends ; and many, if not all, of the wealthy classes, as well as noble, will not become clergymen, and it may not be accounted respectable, but it will not be the less so, as you may look at the Scotch clergy, who, as a body, are not inferior to the English or any other, as the good they have done will shew, and they are held in as high esteem, and rank as any other class in the kingdom, although they may not associate so much in a convivial way with those of wealth and rank, as their stipends will not permit of this, but they are not the less useful on this account.

Free Church
of Scotland.

The disruption of the Scotch Church a few years ago was an event of as remarkable a nature as any that has occurred in this or any age. It was a great and unprecedented sacrifice for the right of freedom of election ; but we do not think it might be called a separation on Scriptural grounds ; it was requisite and necessary in supplying a great deficiency in religious instruction, which had been long required, and it was perhaps this feeling as much as anything else that caused it, although not openly expressed, but by many it was said to be done because they considered it unscriptural to have patrons to elect their clergymen ; but as to its being unscriptural, we cannot easily judge either side, from both being equally eminently pious and learned, and which are we to believe is right ? We must only conclude, under such circumstances, if one side says that it is not unscriptural, that that is the correct opinion, and this on any subject, without knowing what the subject is. In this case, one side says that patronage is unscriptural, and contrary to the law of God ; and the other party says that it is in accordance, and not contrary to the Scriptures. They do not say that it is requisite, according to the Scriptures, to have patronage, but they only say it is not unscriptural to have it. Where there is such a difference of opinion, which of the two are we to believe ? Both are equally to be believed. We must, in such a case, go along with those

who say that patronage is permitted by the Scriptures, at least there must be nothing very unscriptural about it, as it has done no harm, and has continued in enlightened times, but there were other causes operating with this ; and that was an extension of the Church that was required, and this single cause gave rise to a dispute amongst them, and they separated and founded the Free Established Church of Scotland ; and they did it the more readily, as they saw the Government was not inclined to give them any assistance, and as they would not do this, and as they thought the Church had a right to administer its own laws, whether it was in accordance with the right of the subject or not. Such a right as they wished, in this case, was contrary to all law of right ; it was robbing from the subject property which did not belong to the Church, and this without giving a substitute. At any rate, if the right had ever belonged to the Church, it was lost to them by a prescriptive right on the part of those who possessed this property. The Church knew that it was considered as property for upwards of a century ; and they ought to have stopped it then, from being property. We, however, believe and think it was the necessity for more church accommodation, for a long time back, that was the great cause of the separation ; and they thought they would not come under the control of the State, nor in collision with it ; and they would therefore provide more accommodation for themselves, and not be under the surveillance of the Government, and at the same time provide for the increased instruction and worship of the people. It was for this cause, more than the dispute about patronage, that led to the separation of the Free Church. Unless they had taken it up as a quarrel, and separated, they would never have contributed as they have done for increased accommodation ; as they did it out of a spirit of rivalry, and by separating it was necessary that they should support the cause which they had assisted in separating from a great means and source of getting religious instruction, and being accustomed to the respectable status of the established clergy, and knowing the evils of the perpetual yearly annoyances of asking, and paying for stipends, whether convenient or not, and the difficulty of getting them in the Voluntary Churches, they thought it as well to put it on a permanent foundation, before the religious zeal of their adherents grew lukewarm, as it is apt to do when it affects the purses of the religious, as well as others.

We do not think the separation happened on scriptural grounds, The Disruption could not be said to be on Scriptural grounds. from the circumstances which occurred sometime previous to the disruption, as under certain circumstances patronage might be attended with harm if this had not been acceded to them, as the appointment of a clergyman for a whole congregation by a single person, who may not be religious, or who may be no judge of a minister, or who may be deficient in intellect, is likely to be attended with evil results to a congregation, and to the cause of religion, as he may put in a clergyman deficient in talent. He may put in a worldly or irreligious person, who does not openly avow it, but is so. He may put in a person of a weak constitution, or an unhealthy person, who is not able to attend to his duties ; or he may put in a person who has not a command over his passions, but cannot be openly objected to any more than the others ; or he may

put in one who is a good Christian, but is no preacher, and the congregation fall off, and do not attend to him, and Sunday is the only time they have the means of attending to religion, and getting religious instruction. There are many clergymen who are more usefully employed, and do more good out of the pulpit than in it; or they may put in one who is a good preacher, but may not attend very regularly to his other religious duties, as he may suppose if he preaches, that is sufficient for his purpose, or that is all that is required of him, and that is his principal duty. There is no doubt all cannot get the preacher they like if they got their choice; but the majority get the person that pleases, whose character they know, and who they think will preach well, and will administer and attend to the duties of religion in private; some take a minister only for his preaching, but it is necessary to have one who can both preach with effect, and teach and instruct privately. A good preacher is of great importance, as he attracts, and draws, and keeps many in the church, and makes them feel and take an interest in religion; while, if they had a bad preacher, they might not attend, and might be lost to religion. But we think the Free Church ministers and people need not have left the Church on scriptural grounds, or from conscientious motives, as Lord Aberdeen's bill was sufficient, and more than sufficient, to answer all the purposes of religion. It gave the choice of a large number of candidates; and if they were not satisfied with any of these from religious motives, they had redress at the presbytery. If they were not satisfied with their judgment, they had redress at the Synod; and if their judgment did not satisfy them, they had redress at the great annual general meeting of all the divines of the Church, and others appointed from each church, called the General Assembly. We do not know what more any one could have wished; like many things else such a concession would have satisfied all at one time, but it came too late, and they would not have it. The separation before this arose more from the belief that the Government interfered with them, and that they would interfere again, or rather that they had taken a right of judgment which belonged to them, but which the law courts decided they had no right to; at last they called it a matter of conscience.

The Disruption was an extension of the Scotch Church much required.

Whatever was the cause of it, it was a separation, or extension of the Church of Scotland rather, which was long required, and one which did an immense deal of good, and one which the whole country is under, and will be under great obligations to, from the great necessity there was for it, and from the great good and benefit that will flow from it.

We are always clear that all should obey and adhere to the laws (however they may respect them), according as they are laid down, and as they are administered; and we consider it the duty of all to support the administration of these laws, in integrity, with justice, and without partiality to any, unless it is in a case where mercy is to be shewn to a criminal, or in a case where it does not interfere with the rights of any other, present, or time to come, or likely to be a precedent for partiality, where partiality would be doing an injustice; so long as it is a law of the land, it must be fulfilled, and if any one has any objection to it, and sees any evil that has or is

likely to arise from it, he or they must endeavour to get it repealed without injuring any one, or any one losing anything by it; no doubt many may be benefited by a new law, and many may be injured by the repeal of a law, but it must be so regulated as to be made or unmade as it may be for the general, and not a particular good; where it is the taking away of property, that right must be satisfied to the persons having that right before it can be done away with for the general good. Until the repeal of a law takes place to the general satisfaction and private rights of all interested, all must abide by it so long as it is a law. Now patronage was a law of the land, and pecuniary interests were to be lost by its repeal, or by its right of appointment being taken away either wholly, or partially from the holder of it, whether by law or not, and it was a very delicate matter to interfere in it without satisfying the pecuniary arrangement of it; it was one which could not be repealed by the laws without satisfying the holder in a pecuniary point, without causing a gross injustice, and a breaking through of all right and law. The case was made a subject for the decision of the law-courts, how much better a right the Church of Scotland with regard to the alienation of its revenues has a right to be settled in such a manner, than to be judged and sentenced by interested persons, and uninterested, as the people through their members, whether it falls or remains, and ignorant as to the true nature, or law, or right of the case.

Patronages were originally granted or held by proprietors of estates, and others, from the revenues being held on their estates; and also from the times, giving men of property and rank the right and appointment to most offices, or from the landed proprietor, noble or gentleman, being better able to appoint a minister than the perhaps illiterate inhabitants. At its first origin, it might not at first be a law of the land, but it in time grew to be a law of the land, and the right continued in the estate, and was handed to the proprietor who bought or possessed the estate as a part of the property. At length, some may have thought it an advantage, or as a mark of rank or influence to be a patron; from this being the case, it at length became a matter for buying and selling, and has continued so for long years, and it has become a right by prescription, and has been acknowledged by the law of the land; and being saleable, it is necessary to purchase this right from the proprietor, or possessor of it before you can alter the law, or take the right and give the right to any one, or take it from the possessor; such being the case, and as it was known, and allowed, by the General Assembly, they had no right to abolish it until they satisfied the possessor by purchasing, or getting it for nothing by his consent. All know that patronages were sold and purchased for a very long period; and if such had belonged to the Crown, State, Government, or Church, they ought to have put a stop to the sale of them long before, as they knew they were publicly sold; but by not doing so, if they had the right, they thus publicly granted the right to patrons. We, however, do not suppose it could have been done, unless, at its first origin, and no one thought of it, or the congregation had not the power, if they had wished it; but at the present day, from its being an article of sale, and that for long years, and no one interfering with it, the General Assembly or Parliament had

no right to take the right from any one who possessed it, until they satisfied the pecuniary claim, whatever that may have been, as decided on by competent judges at the time, as they bear no regular fixed value.

We think that all who hold patronages ought to give a large selection of ministers at the least to congregations, although they are not obliged to do so; but from all the circumstances of the case, the Free Church ought to have got a fund to purchase the patronage at a reasonable rate, and we have no doubt many would have been so liberal as to have given them up without money for them, and they would have got all the Crown patronages, which are very numerous. We have little doubt they would have got most for nothing, when they could not get one by force: they are not now considered to be worth; and as almost all allow their congregations their choice of ministers, which takes greatly away from the value of these.

It is quite different with the English patronages, where the clergymen belonging to these enjoy high stipends, and thus the patronages sell very high, as the churches are kept for the sons or relations of those possessing the patronages, and are equivalent to giving them fortunes, or settling them for life; it would therefore be a difficult matter to get them to part with these, and difficult to buy them, for the sake of putting an end to patronages, from religious, scrupulous, beneficial, or conscientious motives.

Remuneration for giving up patronages.

Now in case of a separation, or a dissolution, or alienation of the endowments or revenues of the Church of Scotland, of Ireland, or of England—but we speak with regard to Scotland—the patrons have to be remunerated where or how; of course out of the revenues of the Church in case of an alienation, and all will insist on it, and have the highest value of them, if they persist in alienating the revenues of the Church, and each patronage would be valued at the least from L.500 to L.1000. This would greatly take away from the benefit of getting the revenues of the Church of Scotland, which are really so small at any rate, that by this diminution it would scarcely be worth having them, for all the good they would do, in comparison to the good they are at present doing; then there would also be the great expense to the country for law-suits and other expenses, before everything could be settled, that the amount would be small that could be realized on winding up the affairs of the Scotch Church.

If a proper settlement and confirmation of the Church's private right to its revenues were given, the patrons might give up their right, as the patronages are at present unsaleable; but if the people were to alienate the revenues, they would be better to keep them, as the purchase of these and other expenses might prevent the alienation of the revenues of the Church, but they might at once give up their right of choosing a minister for the churches, but keep the right and get the benefit of it by selling it, and having it paid for (if the revenues of the Church should at any time be alienated), and out of these revenues, or from the State.

High price of English patronages.

But the English patronages, how would they be satisfied? The price a great many of them would bring, would bring a very handsome yearly stipend to a clergyman. You could not take them

from them by a law of the land without remunerating them, any more than any other property; it would take a large sum to pay for them, but it might arise from the funds of the Church; if the stipends of the clergy were to be reduced, it would greatly diminish their value.

It is the duty of the State to put a stop to illegal sales, or the possession of property which is said to belong to the State, if it is aware of it; and if it is so, by not taking up the property, or preventing the sales after repeated notices of such, then such possession becomes legal.

It is the tendency of all churches, whatever may be the cause of their separation, and however they may approve of an establishment or state endowment after their separation, and at their separation; yet in time they begin to take a different view of the matter, and come to be opposed to the Establishment, and to State endowments. Tendency of
seceded
churches to
disapprove of
endowments. This feeling gradually arises in the course of time, it may be from their first quarrel with the mother-church, and frequent quarrels and sources of jealousy gradually alienate them, and give them a dislike to the Establishment generally, and at last it descends to particularities, as, for instance, its principles, such as its endowments, and seeing that they themselves have it not, or that they can do without it, they say they do not see why the Establishment cannot do the same, or they are envious and discontented at the Establishment supporting so easily their ministers, while they do it with difficulty; and it may be that in course of time they begin to forget their old connection with the Establishment, and from supporting their own ministers, they forget the principles of the Establishment, and think they ought to support theirs also; or it may be, as frequently happens, they wish or expect an endowment, or the share of one that is going, but are refused, or are not offered it, or do not get it, and then take an inveterate dislike and hatred to endowments, public or private, and to establishments and established principles from these causes, and these alone, without any reference to their opposition being from principle, or scriptural, or conscientious; but at length they come to say it is for one and all of these motives. Sometimes it is jealousy and rivalry on the part of some of their ministers towards those of the Establishment that gives rise to it; and they thus stimulate and encourage their congregations to fancy they are insulted and injured, and unfairly used, and they thus get a dislike for establishments, and they forget the benefits that have arisen from them, and without which they would not have been in existence; and from heart-burnings, disputes, and differences of opinion, it may arise from the single circumstance, perhaps of not being allowed to preach in one of their churches, and this sets up the whole body against them, and they at length come to give up their opinion in favour of Establishments. We see many of the established Free Church of Scotland, whose very title shews the principles and general doctrines which it holds, and whose principles ought to have been so clearly laid down and impressed on each of their members, and ought to be constantly kept before them and in their remembrance, by each having her doctrines and principles printed, and held by each, so that all having them would not likely soon depart from them, otherwise they might

be held up to the ridicule of all, we see many of its members already seceding, and wishing to do so, from the Established principles ; and it is probable, that in time they may all be led to adopt the same principles and opinions, but if only a part hold the opinions, and another part are opposed to it, it is likely to be the cause of doing great and serious injury to the Free Church, and to retard its progress, and the great good which has arisen, and which is likely to arise from it to religion, and to the country, and it may even cause a rupture or separation of the Free Church ; and this happening before she is fully constructed, will do great injury, as she has much yet to do before she can be said to be built, and on a permanent foundation ; we would say to do that, they have yet a half to do ; and it is therefore a bad and unseasonable time to quarrel and be disunited ; instead of that they require to be more firmly united than ever they were, or they will be held up to the ridicule and scorn of all.

A Church has no right to act contrary to law as it is. So long as the Establishment does not interfere with private rights, it has nearly the same freedom of choice, and has the same opinions as the Free Church has in every respect ; but neither the Free Church nor the Established Church can do that which is contrary to law, until they get that law altered, which will no doubt be done, if the rights of all are satisfied. But no religion can be upheld, if its acts are opposed to, and contrary to laws, either of long or short standing, so long as they exist. So long as the Free Church upholds the doctrine of the Established principle, the mother Church and she may work together, and be a powerful and influential body in the State ; but if the Free Church gives up this doctrine, there will be a separation of her most powerful members, and she will be powerless, and with no influence, either in the State, or as a means of doing great good by her religious instruction, for which alone all churches are formed and exist. Establishments are only connected with the State, from being a means of preserving themselves, so as to be more able to administer and teach religion, than from being a powerful party in the State for non-religious purposes. They are more requisite to the State, than the State is to them : the State cannot do without the religious good which they diffuse throughout the land ; and if religion is stopped or retarded, the State suffers by it.

Claim of the Free Church to Churches built before the Disruption.

The Free Church laid claim to churches which were built by private subscription, but which were in connection with the Established Church. There can be no doubt, that from this open junction at the time of their being built, that they belong to the Established Church. The original subscribers never dreamed of there ever being a separation from the Establishment ; and the original promoter of this new scheme for building new churches by private subscriptions, and joining them to the Established Church, never thought of their being other than the property of the Established Church, and who, if we had thought at the time of their being built that they would be separated from the Established Church, would sooner have taken down one of the Established churches for every new church, rather than that they should be separated from the Established Church. The original subscribers, and Dr Chalmers the original promoter of the building of these churches, gave their subscriptions for the purpose

of building churches, as a means of increasing the religious worship and instruction of the Establishment, and as there was a deficiency in the accommodation generally of the Established churches; and as they at the same time adhered to the laws, and were in connection and communion with the Church of Scotland, and their clergymen attended the General Assembly with the others, and these churches were generally opened, and preached in for the first time by some eminent divine of the Scotch Church, and as they were built for the purpose of being the same in every respect, as the other churches of the Establishment, and for that purpose alone, and no one ever dreamed that they were to be applied to any other purpose, and the original schemer and subscribers would never have got them built, if they had thought of such a thing at the time of their building. Although these buildings had not been handed over at the time of their building, and joined the Established Church, and their clergymen been granted the same rights as other clergymen of the Established Church; yet if the original subscribers built them for the purpose of churches in connection with the Established Church, and holding the same principles, yet, if only one of these subscribers objected to their joining any other body, be it the Free Church, Episcopalian, or Roman Catholic, it is equally the same which, as if either, it was a deviation from the original principles on which, and for which they were built; and although every subscriber but this one had approved of their joining another body, yet, from its not being according to the original intention for which it was built, and as it is more than probable that it would never have been built for or on any other principle than that for which it was built, the church therefore belongs to those who adhere to the original principles, be they the majority or not; and those who keep the church, keep the endowment, if there is one. If the original builders had put into their deed of contract or copartnership any clause to the effect that the church was to belong to the majority, or not to the Establishment, it would then have been the property of the majority; but as such a secession was never dreamt of, and was unheard of in any age, except at the time of the Reformation, if it had, it is likely it never would have been built: it is therefore right to suppose that it belongs to those who adhere to the principles for which they built it. Now, if there were also an act incorporating themselves with the Established Church, and as subscriptions were given by members belonging to the Establishment, and who did not regularly attend these churches, and as they are still members of the Establishment, and as these churches were got up by the influence of the Established Church generally, it cannot be doubted but that they belong to the Established Church. If there had been no agreement or incorporation with the Established Church, and if their ministers had not joined the fellowship of the Established Church, although they might have held all the principles of the Established Church without any difference, and if the church were built by all on these principles, yet, if all the subscribers agreed in this case to go over to the Free, or any other Church, they had a right to do so, and to keep the church; but as this was not the case, and as they had openly joined the Church, or as some of their subscribers had done so, and as it

was originally built on established principles, so long as any one of the original subscribers adhered to these, the church must remain in these principles; as it might have happened, but for one or more individuals, the church might never have been built, as it might be done through his wealth, and great influence with others, and he, if they had not agreed to his principles, would have opposed and prevented it from being built, as if they changed their principles to any other, as for instance it might be Roman Catholic or Mahomedanism, this would do great harm and injury to the Church to which he belonged, and according to his opinion of the human race, there can be little doubt that the churches which were associated, and which were connected, and whose ministers had the same rights in the Establishment as the established ministers, belong to the Establishment.

The Free Church ought to have bargained for the churches built by them.

In some towns, the Free Church having taken away the greater part of the congregations of these churches, and which were not always well filled, and which were not always very well able to pay their clergymen, these churches are now very empty, and not able to pay their clergymen. As they are not likely to be soon filled, and as they are not now required, as the Free churches have answered the purposes for which they were built, namely, extra accommodation, in some places where the Established churches do not, or cannot fill or pay clergymen to officiate in these churches, we think the Established Church ought to have sold them at a moderate sum to the Free Church, and they would have been cheaper to them than building new churches; and their situation would have been such as the wants of the people required; and the Established Church, by the interest of this money accumulating, might have got as much as would endow and build other churches, with other assistance, when the increased wants of the Established Church for more accommodation was required; but at present, by keeping up an empty church, perhaps burdened with debt, and paying the yearly interest of that, and to pay a minister who is not required, but as it is merely to keep the church from being shut up, and as there is not a congregation sufficient to pay for a minister, it must be a great and useless expense for the Establishment to pay for such where they are not required; and if they keep them empty, they are losing the principal for which the church might be sold, and the interest arising from it, as well as paying interest on the debt of the church; and as it is for the advantage of both, it might at one time have saved the Free Church a great deal of trouble waiting and building churches, and these, perhaps, in inconvenient situations, and cheaper than they could get them built for. The interest of the money got for those churches, which were not required, might have been applied to educational purposes. Free churches were and are built unwisely and uneconomically, as they are too small for the increase of members, which will require larger churches. They at least ought to have made them so as to allow of their being conveniently enlarged. No doubt, they were got up in a hurry, and just to answer the present members, and it might be on account of want of funds.

Colleges, &c.

The present is a bad time to make collections, as trade and the country are in such a bad state, and money is so scarce, clergymen who do not think so much of worldly, as of spiritual matters, are

apt to forget the proper seasons for asking assistance. The Free Church ought not to have too many colleges; they ought to have one, and that ought to teach all that is necessary for their ministry. If they have any others, they ought to be entirely subordinate to the principal one, as they are apt to become independent, and to form themselves into different bodies, which would do great injury to the Free Church and to religion. The Free Church, as a body, are powerful in the State, and for religious good; and so long as it acts from unselfish motives; but separated into independent bodies, their power and usefulness will be greatly diminished. The Established Colleges did not become independent, because they belonged to a body whose funds were kept together by law, and could not be alienated, and did not arise from, or depend on individual gift, but was permanent and independent, and if they had separated, they could not oppose those colleges which were already in the different places, and support others belonging to themselves. Professors of these Free-Kirk Colleges will be ambitious, and desirous of becoming independent, and out of the control of any one; and the people in that part of the country, and round about, will assist, and be proud to see their professors independent, and to have colleges of their own, and on the slightest dispute will side with them, to separate themselves from the main body, and if they are not able to support themselves, will join other denominations. Edinburgh is a place for communicating and spreading out religion, and instruction everywhere, and for professors studying and getting information and means of all kinds most conveniently; and for students teaching the young, and getting at the same time information and instruction themselves. We would therefore strongly recommend the proper means to be used to prevent any disruption; divided, the Free Church loses much of its power and usefulness, but as a body, it has as great power and means of doing good as any body, religious or otherwise, in this or any State. First get a sound fundamental primary college, and when circumstances will permit, get your colleges that are to be entirely subordinate ones.

We had rather a feeling of dislike about compelling proprietors Sites. to grant sites, not to the Free Church, but to some other bodies, as you cannot grant sites to one, without giving them to every other religious body. Now, if landlords had done as they ought, by granting them without making a law, this would have been prevented. But we approve of the Free Church getting sites, as we consider the Free Church to be a great benefit to the land, and it was an extension of the Church of Scotland much required; and the Government and others did not seem inclined, or able, or were frightened to assist in extending, and assisting the Church of Scotland, and the want of more religion and instruction that was required. Sites ought to be granted for religious and educational purposes, and for hospitals and charities, &c., but they must pay the full value of the ground, and be at a certain distance from any residence, mansion, or where they may encroach, or be likely to encroach, on any improvement going on, or likely to go on. Any difference to be settled by arbiters. And there must also be a certain number of persons members of a church before granting a site.

And also before granting sites for churches or other purposes, they must prove that they are able to pay for their building, unburdened by debt, as well as able to pay a certain amount of stipend.

Education to
the poor.

There has been for some time past a great movement throughout the country, for the purpose of getting up means for the purpose of giving education to the poor, and all have agreed that it can be done, and that it is necessary; but there have been differences of opinion with regard to having religious education in the schools, on account of the difficulty of pleasing all on that most important and requisite point; and the great difficulty has been with regard to Roman Catholics, who will not attend schools where any other religious instruction is taught but that of their own; and it has been considered by some to have schools without any religious instruction. But many again, and the greater number, consider it better to have schools with religious branches of education, according to the Protestant religion, and such being the case, it prohibits and prevents the attendance of Roman Catholics.

Interest of all
that all should
be educated.

By having schools without any religious education, all can be admitted without their religious scruples being affected. As it is for the interest of all, and the good of the nation, that all should be educated, so as to make all good, better, honester, wiser, and more enlightened subjects; and as such enlightenment is for the better, easier, quieter, better regulated, and more secure and prosperous government of the nation, as well as for the greater benefit, health, and happiness and comfort of the subject, it is of importance that all should be educated. An educated workman is far superior and more expert and diligent, as well as more sober and industrious, than an uneducated workman, and is more to be trusted and depended on when he is required in a time of need or difficulty. To make education a means of the better and easier government of the nation, and as a protection to the subject, it is necessary that all should be affected and impressed by the truths and morality which religion teaches, and which are so necessary for our every-day dealings with one another, and which are so necessary for our protection and support, that without it we cannot go on in a straight and equable manner, and the earlier that religion, or any other good, is instilled and impressed, and continued and lasting, the better and surer way is it to be permanent, and to keep a firmer root; if trained to it in youth, it takes hold and becomes a part of our system, and it will not be easily eradicated, nor lose its hold in after years, if we should be tempted to depart from its upright and honourable paths by the wiles or the temptations of the world, or when we are out of the influence of religion; but if we are only taught religion when we are old, it perhaps makes no impression, and if it does affect us, it has not the same hold or delicacy of effect on our senses and feelings, as when we are brought up to it from our youth; in our youth it leaves a more pleasing effect, if it has not been forced on us, but has gradually taken effect, and has left a deep root, while we scarcely felt or knew it, from our constantly receiving it in our youth, and from our earliest years, and it is then associated with all the joys and griefs, and with the place where we might be born or brought up, and the place where we received the advantages which may have prospered and made us successful, prosperous, happy, and

respected in life, and given and made us the cause of the same comforts and advantages to others, and it is also associated with the friends with whom we have spent our happiest and most careless days, without either thought of the past or of the future. It is the scenes of youth which keep and hold the firmest impression of all in after life; it is then learning takes a quicker, and makes a deeper impression on us when we are abroad and sick, or unfortunate or fortunate; it is then we remember and think on them, and it is on these scenes and remembrances of youth that we think, and meditate, and reflect on, when we can think on nothing else, and it is there alone that we wish to return.

All must be brought up and educated with some religious principles of honesty, of faith, and fear of a future, and belief in a Divine Being. Religious education. Whatever the errors of that religion may be, if it teach that, as all religions in this country do, it is necessary they get it, as far better than no religion at all, as some would attempt to do, and would even prevent them from being educated. You must try to educate them, even although they get no religion. This is the first step; give them the elements of education, and without this no one can get and reap the benefit of religion; by not educating them you make them lose the chance of ever becoming or learning to be religious, either present or future; you make them lose the chance of becoming respectable; if educated, they may, in the course of life, and in their reading, become impressed with sentiments, truths, and morality which are common to all religions, although they may not particularly belong to any; but there is no difficulty, we should think, of all getting a religious education at the same time that they are getting the elements of education.

All the different religions of Protestantism agree to one version of the Bible, therefore all these may read this except the Roman Catholics; by the Protestants reading the Bible, which contains the whole principles of their faith, although they may be of different sects, yet their Bibles being alike, they will thus, by reading it, be impressed with its sentiments and truths, and they will know and remember the different subjects that it contains; there is no use to say to them this is the opinion of the Unitarian on this passage, and the Presbyterian Church does not approve of that opinion; children do not understand such things until they are 14 or 16. Bible a part of education. And how few do it at 20 years of age? And they may read it from the general principles it contains; and the particular principles of the sect to which they belong may be taught at schools on Sunday, and during the week, for the purpose of religious instruction; you might teach them the doctrines of the body to which they belong, and the books which are used by them; it might be taught an hour twice or thrice a-week, and their pastors would teach and examine them on Sunday; they do not get much more on the particular branch of their religion, and on its doctrines at present. The children who belonged to the church of which the master was a member, could get the doctrines of their church by the master as part of their education at a separate, and at a different time, without making those who are of a different faith lose the opportunity of ever being educated, and thus the only chance of ever becoming religious. It is always a step, and a very important step towards it; they may

get moral books, and good books which may make a good impression on them, and may impress them with the benefit of knowing right and wrong, and of doing to others as they would be done by, and shewing to them the advantages of doing good, and the injury and harm of doing and encouraging evil; they may get books that will teach them these truths, and impress it on them, and yet without containing any doctrine that favours one religion more than another; and they ought, therefore, to arrange the schools, that all who wish it may be learned the simple elements of education, and be all taught together without a separation and distinction of sects, except in the particular doctrines of their religion; all may read the Bible together except the Roman Catholics, and they may be taught something else at that time, and so may those who are not of the same church as the master, when he is teaching religious books belonging to his worship.

Children do not pay much attention to what they read in the Bible. The various stories in it, which are so highly useful from their truthfulness, and their moral effect, interests them and impresses the general truths and moral principles of the Bible upon their minds, and the truths of religion are fixed on them, by constantly reading it, without their taking up, or thinking about any particular religious opinions, which it takes the old to pay attention to and think about; therefore all sects may get the Bible as part of their education, they may of course be made to spell, and give the simple meaning of single words, and all who do not wish to read the Bible, need not; it will not make any derangement in the school.

There can be no doubt that giving the Bible as part of the general instruction is useful; on account of its general truths and sentiments, and the knowledge it gives of religion, and of a Divine and all-preserving, and everywhere and all-seeing, and beneficent, and impartial Being and Creator of all things; and this is necessary for all, and takes and keeps a lasting impression without giving any particular doctrines of Christianity.

It is of great importance that Roman Catholics should be educated as well as others, as a means of their getting, and of giving them a clear knowledge of the truths and doctrines of their religion, and as a means of allowing them to think and judge for themselves, in order to let them see and rid themselves of its superstitions, when they may be attempted to be imposed on them, and which their religion may contain, and which may be done by their priesthood to answer their own selfish ends.

Necessary to
educate Ro-
man Catho-
lics.

Too much se-
paration of dif-
ferent Schools
into different
religions.

There has of late been too much separation and distinction of schools into the different religions to which they belong, each religion having a school; such distinctions and separations are highly prejudicial and hurtful to the public generally; it is apt to give rise to a great deal of selfishness and unwillingness to assist and associate with one another generally, and is apt to be attended with want of liberality and openness towards one another, which the mixing with one another in youth prevents; it is keeping up and preserving too much sectarian and religious distinctions, which are a cramp on the general usefulness of all; they will not work well together in public, either with one another in their private dealings, or when asso-

ciated for the public and general good ; and it would therefore be as well if such religious separations in youth were done away with.

There has arisen too a piece of refinement and delicacy in teaching girls apart from boys. We do not see any advantage, but the contrary, to be derived from this separation ; it has a very distant, and repulsive, and unsociable effect. It takes away that mutual confidence and unity, which both sexes ought to have, the one for the other, and the foundation of which is to be laid in youth ; and by their associating and learning with each other, it is then that the stronger sex learns to cherish, support, and assist, and to be forbearing to the female sex, and they learn also to shew and preserve that delicacy, which the nature of their sex requires towards the males, and they towards the females ; and this is best done when associating with one another ; and they thus, when they grow up and mix with the world, preserve it for their own benefit and towards one another ; it is not time to learn them the respect due the one to the other, when they are grown up, but it is as well to do it in youth, and when grown up it will remain, and be preserved without either knowing it, as it will be a part of their nature ; it is as well to be done in youth, as they have, at any rate, to associate with one another when grown up. The girl may learn this delicacy of behaviour in retirement, but the boy does not, and if he does not learn it in youth, he will not when grown up, and the girl will lose the benefit of it. What can be the harm of educating boys and girls together, who are in the same rank of life ? it is only creating a feeling of separation and distrust to one another ; a boy ought to learn to read the same way as a girl ; a girl is as quick and accute at learning as a boy of the same age, if not more accute ; it is therefore of no practical use separating the two, but if anything, it does harm ; the associating and mixing with each other is only for a short time, and that is when they are mutually benefited. It is as well, where it is possible, that all should pay a certain sum for their education, however small, and it is doing an injury to the State, where the State is not able to educate those for nothing who can pay for it. This system of paying for everything is generally hurtful, as it takes away from the independency and principle of self-reliance, and of self-support and assistance which is requisite for all, and with which we are naturally endowed ; it makes us helpless in the time of need, when we can get no assistance, and when we could easily have assisted ourselves, if we had not been accustomed to get everything done for us ; by paying for those who are able to pay for themselves, we are preventing others from getting the benefit which they cannot afford to get.

Is it consistent with our religious belief as Protestants and supporters of an Established Church, to give our support, and grant the means of supporting the Roman Catholic religion ? According to the principles which Protestants hold, they are doing a great wrong by assisting, and supporting a Roman Catholic endowment, so long as the Catholics hold many of the tenets which they do ; it is contrary to the known laws of the kingdom to support a Roman Catholic endowment ; it is contrary to the principles for which they turned from the throne of Great Britain, James Duke of York, the

father-in-law of William of Orange ; it is contrary to the law by which the present Queen sits upon the throne of Great Britain ; it is contrary to the law which will not allow of the Sovereign or the Royal family to marry Roman Catholics. There is a great deal of absurdity in the idea of supporting a single Roman Catholic priest, who will do more injury to the Protestant religion, than the wife or husband of a queen or a king, if she or he is a Roman Catholic, as the Sovereign of this country is now merely a nominal head without any influence, and who will sign her name to grant such a provision, which is against her coronation oath, and the principles by which her family sit on the throne, and for which they were turned off the throne ; but if they grant endowments to Roman Catholics, they may as well allow the Sovereign and Royal family to marry persons, either of the Roman Catholic or Protestant faith, or in fact, any person they please, as they can have no more influence in affecting the Protestant faith, than a single Roman Catholic priest.

Confessional
a great objec-
tion against
Catholicism.

There is one great objection against the Roman Catholic faith, and this is in the confession and remission of sins. There is also the worship or invoking of aid from images or saints ; but respectable Roman Catholics deny that they worship and adore images ; it is merely the invoking, or natural instinct or feeling, which makes one ask for assistance from a near relation, or friend at a distance when we are in distress, without thinking that we cannot be heard, or that they are beyond assisting us. In the same way they invoke the assistance of a dead and beloved relation ; so in the same way the Virgin Mary and the saints. This may be the case with the educated, in whom it may be called a natural burst of feeling, which does not think or expect to be gratified or not ; but in the case of the poor, superstitious, and illiterate and ignorant, it takes the form of idol-worship, as they believe in the power of the Virgin Mary, and in the images of the different saints, as being able to assist and help them in the time of trouble, or when it is desired. It is the duty of the priesthood to do away with this idol-worship. We also know of their going to famous shrines of some famous saint, more famous than others, and getting and asking favours from these. From such circumstances, we know that there is no pretence, but a firm belief in its efficacy.

Evil effects of
man forgiv-
ing sins.

There is the confession and remission of sins by a man as frail, weak, and sinful, and perhaps more so than the person confessed. It is only a cause of increased wickedness and crime. If a man commits murder, how is it possible for any one on earth to forgive, and pardon the crime that has been committed, when it can only be pardoned by the Almighty, who may not pardon it ? If he again commits it, he is again forgiven. It is taking the power and authority of the Supreme Being into his hands, and the priest is as guilty as he who committed the crime, in concealing it, as it is encouraging, and fostering, and permitting crime ; when, if he had not pretended to an ignorant, and illiterate, and superstitious person that he could forgive him as often as he pleased, by paying so much, or to answer his own ends, the crime might not have been committed a second time. It is the duty of all to prevent crime when it is in their power ;

and it is the duty of all to inform on a murderer, and bring him to justice. The law of God requires it, as well as the laws of man. It is necessary for the protection and benefit of one and all that such should be the case. A murderer may be forgiven and pardoned once, and a person who does not expose or inform on him for a first murder is guilty, no doubt, of a wrong; but he may suppose, that by allowing him to escape (that is to say, only if he is acquainted with him—where he is not, it is his duty to inform, and seize him) he may repent, and become a good person; but if he allows him to escape for a second murder, when it is in his power to seize and punish him, he is guilty, almost equally guilty with the murderer. In the case of a priest forgiving, it is permitting and sanctioning crime; and he is equally, if not more guilty than the committer of the crime, or the murderer. It is doing a harm to all, and to the country, as it only leads to more guilt and bloodshed, when such a monster ought to be exterminated, or end his life in confinement and misery, and for the benefit of his fellow-men. (A person may commit a murder once by mistake, and be forgiven; but if he commits it again in the same way, after knowing from his first experience what was to happen, and if he does it a second time, he or she is guilty of murder, and it is a crime to forgive it.) No one can say that such is in accordance with any version of the Scriptures, either Protestant or Roman Catholic, that a single solitary individual can make himself equal with the Supreme Being, and forgive such a heinous crime in a few moments, both in this life and in that which is to come, while it takes so many of his countrymen to decide and judge on it. It is also doing a great wrong and injury to the country to which he belongs, and where the crime was committed; it is subversive of all the laws of God and man, and it is endangering the lives of all, and it permits, and allows, and encourages all kinds of immorality, and wickedness that exist. Without any farther objection to the Roman Catholic religion, this is quite sufficient to prevent any one favouring it, or becoming converts to it. It is a religion which encourages evil, and conceals it, instead of exposing it, and preventing and repressing it. It is through means of the confessional that the Roman Catholic clergy have so great an influence over single individuals, and over a people; and it is by knowing all the sins, weaknesses, frailties, and faults of individuals, either of the male or female sex, and especially over the latter; and they even encourage them to commit faults and crimes, and call them at first trivial, or pay no attention to them, as if they were nothing unusual; and after they are fairly committed and known, they then call them crimes of the deepest dye, and which, if known, would bring them to shame, ruin, or death, or at least it would throw them out of all society, and from all their friends; and they either openly or hintingly let them know that if they do not obey, or do, or tell, or be their willing instruments in all things, however dishonourable or criminal, they will expose and lay open their former crimes, weaknesses, or frailties, if they do not obey; and they thus frighten their victims, and lead them on from worse to worse, until they lose all honour, feeling, or sense of shame, and come at last to be so hardened, that they even believe that there is no harm in

committing crimes, and that it is even for the good of religion ; many might stop at first, but they are led on from worse to worse, and from the fear of discovery they become easy preys and instruments in their hands, and get into families, and society, and societies, under the guise of friends, and get them to do the same evils, and instigate them to do it, and reveal all kinds of secrets, and tell them again to those in whose power they are. Females, under such circumstances, should not fancy what they may do at first is really so bad as some would make it. Interested persons are apt to magnify things, which are simply immoral, into crimes, and things which have been done accidentally, or which may have been done without knowing that there was any harm in it, or even that any harm would arise from it, and they have magnified these into crimes, and so frightened the victim, that he or she has believed them to be so ; while, if they had thought coolly over the matter themselves, or had any one to explain it to them in a true light, they would have found that they were immoral, and, if carried to any extent, hurtful, but not criminal, but might lead to that ; and those who wished to ruin them might effect that, and get them in their power. It is better at the first, in such cases, to have such firmness of mind as to say to yourself, if it is criminal, it may be as well not to care if it is known, as it may be known at any rate, or discovered, and by trying to conceal it, we are only keeping ourselves in constant misery, at the chance of being discovered, or we are committing and doing more wrong for the purpose of preventing discovery, and thus are we gradually led on from faults and weaknesses to immorality, and from that to sin, and from that to crime, and from that to murder, and a breaking of all the rights and laws of God and man. It is therefore better to confess your fault at first, which, in the eyes of all but yourself and the interested person, is trivial, and no attention will be paid to it, and is pardonable if discovered. It is therefore better not to go on committing more to prevent discovery, but to make up your mind not to care whether you are discovered or not, as it is more than likely the interested person, if he or she finds fault with you, will deliver you up, and expose you, to answer, perhaps, their own purposes, and to save themselves. We must try to prevent, and check crime, at its first outset, and also our passions, or try to prevent them occurring at all ; but if they do, it is best to be lenient to first faults, else if we are harsh, it only leads to concealment, and to an increase of them, and to crime. Between man and wife there ought to be no concealment of any kind ; if one or other is in the fault, or has done any thing wrong, the other knowing it, it is better to tell it than even to wait the chance of its being discovered. If it has been a mistake, however sinful, it might be forgiven. If it had not been so, and however much it may hurt the feelings of one or the other, it ought to be told as the only way of its being considered not to have been done intentionally. Women are very liable to conceal such mistakes, and it is even the cause of conjugal infidelity ; while if the husband had been told at first, it might have been prevented. Some say they are afraid their husbands would be angry if they knew of it, or that it might vex him, or that he might think it was done intentionally, and they go on this way concealing every thing, that they tell their

husbands nothing, and there is no confidence or trust between them, and they become careless to one another, and come at length to do openly what they at first considered to be wrong, and were afraid of their husbands knowing. Man and wife ought to have no concealments from one another; they should be the confidants and advisers of one another. Where such is not the case, there is soon an end of domestic happiness and married comfort. They ought to bear and forbear with each other's faults and weaknesses, and where one has been in fault it ought not to be checked harshly, as it may lead to future want of confidence, and to concealment in very important matters. In the same way parents to children—these, when grown up, to their parents, these last ought, when grown up, to confide and trust them, and not always use them as children.

The priests have great influence over all, and it is by knowing all their sins, weaknesses, frailties, and faults, that they possess a power and have a knowledge of them, degrading for any one to be in possession of, or to hear. The more illiterate and uneducated the clergy are, and the more ignorant and uneducated the people are, the more do the clergy use their unhallowed influence for their own ends, and for the subjection, and dominant, and superstitious control of their flocks, and use it for political as well as other purposes, by which they are to be benefited. They use it as a means of acquiring wealth for themselves and their church, or they use it as any popular leader may dictate to them how to employ their influence to act on the multitude, and others for his own benefit, under pretence, it may be, of supporting the priesthood and their friends. Such an influence as they possess is dangerous to any State, when they minister in an illiterate and barbarous district, as they, by their confessional, possess an influence over ignorant minds by acting and influencing them by superstitious means, and by a knowledge of their crimes and weaknesses, which few if any other may know; and they have them thus entirely in their power, and would reveal their crimes by means of others as much in their power, and would thus deliver them up to punishment, if they did not obey their wishes, whether good or bad, whether they felt an inclination to do what was wished them or not.

Another cause of the priesthood's success is their being a united, close, and single body, without any worldly affections, or likings, or interests, but that of the aggrandisement and success of their own body; and one cause of it is their not being married, which was not always the case with the Roman Catholic priesthood of Great Britain—at one time they were a married body, like the Protestant clergy. On account of their celibacy, they adhere to one another, and lose many of the affections which soften and render the heart susceptible of taking on affections, and receiving impressions which are contrary to their being a secret and united body; and being a body who wish to rule and acquire great influence by such means, as not being married, they may succeed in an unenlightened and superstitious age, but it loses its effect to a great extent by education. By not being married, they stand apart, as it were, from all the world, and work for themselves and their order alone, and use all their energies and influence to improve that, and that only,

The cause of
the Roman
Catholic
priests' power.

many of them only using their religion, and their religious influence, for the aggrandisement of their own body ; and the confessional gives them the powerful means of effecting this more than any thing else that is known, not even excepting money, that all-powerful agent, which is believed to overcome all difficulties. The scorn of the world, and shame, and the idea of being thrown out of all society and from their friends, by the discovery of frailties, or the discovery and punishment of crimes, causes more fear, and brings them more under the control of the priesthood, than all the money you could give them. There are many, from this shame and fear of degradation and discovery, who would rather commit a crime to conceal it, than take all the money that could be given them to commit the same crime. Honour and its preservation are generally dearer to all than money.

Better education of the priesthood.

It were better for all that priests were married, and had the same sympathies, and feelings, and affections as their flocks, and they could then feel for them in their afflictions, and sympathize and console them under distresses ; such have more effect when they are done with feeling, as if they had felt them themselves, and knew and could appreciate the distress and affliction. A man without the companionship of woman, and through her means with children and the rest of his race, loses that sensibility, delicacy, and true feeling, which want of close and intimate fellowship with his race creates, excites, and perpetuates.

The unmarried state of the priesthood.

The unmarried state generally is one which one might almost say was forbidden by the laws of God ; at least we know that the original intention of man and woman's being created was, that they were made the one for the other, and without their close and intimate connection by marriage, would become extinct ; and they were not intended to become extinct, as the formation of their bodies will shew. A married priesthood is a more efficient and a better means of teaching and diffusing religion, than an unmarried priesthood. The very knowledge that priests confess families, and young and old females, renders it peremptory that they ought to be married, to have all their true feelings and natural affections, and that they may have their passions gratified, without gratifying them at the expense of those whom they confess. The priesthood all know is composed of good and bad men, of men of principle and rectitude, and men who have no principle or sense of honour, and men who are moral and immoral, and men whose feelings and passions are excitable, and those who are of a phlegmatic temperament. No young unmarried priest ought to be the confessor of a female ; and if the priesthood remain unmarried, they ought not, until they are upwards of fifty years of age, to confess any woman under fifty-five or sixty years of age. Therefore the old priests confess the young women, and the young priests the old women. They get the power over them by means of the confessional.

Is it in accordance with our religion to assist the Roman Catholic religion ?

Will the Bible or our religion not permit us to assist the Roman Catholics on any occasion ? Will it not allow us to assist them as a means of bringing about good results, without using improper or unworthy ends for that purpose ? We think that the Protestant religion teaches us that there are times which require and permit us to assist Roman Catholics in their religion. We all know that

there are Roman Catholics as truly good, religious, and pious as any Protestant is. We also know that there have been Roman Catholics that have done as much good as Protestants. We also know that Roman Catholics have delivered as good sermons as Protestants, and that such sermons are printed and are in the hands of Protestants, and that these sermons were preached a century ago. We also believe that Roman Catholics go to heaven as well as Protestants; and we know that their religion takes them there; and such being the case, it cannot be wholly defective; and there are therefore times and circumstances when we may assist them. We may also assist them as a means of eradicating those errors which are noxious, and whose tendency is bad.

For instance, a large body of Roman Catholics may be settled in a district which is poor and remote from others, and they may not have the means of instruction, comfort, and consolation in their religion, from their poverty, from not being able to engage and get a priest, and for want of this they and their children are to be brought up ignorant of all religion, and means of salvation with regard to a future state; now, we believe that there is a heaven and a hell, and by not getting this religious benefit, the old die irreligious and go to hell, the young grow up irreligious, and are vagabonds, robbers, and blackguards, because they have not had any one to teach them religious truths, and bring them up in the fear of God, and in the respect for the laws and rights of man, and of one another; now all this happens from the want of a pastor of their own religion; if we send one of the Protestant religion, they turn from him, and do not attend or listen to him. What then is to be done? It is then our duty, as Christians, to prevent irremediable evil and future damnation, as we know their religion takes them to heaven, and it is our duty to assist them by giving them the means, when all other endeavours on our part have failed, as we know, by not doing so when we are able, they will go to hell, and we must therefore give them a pastor of their own religion, as the better informed and religious they are, the more likely are they to listen to another religion, rather than none. It is our duty to attend to our own wants and religion first, where such is in a bad state, or where our assisting others is likely to affect it.

Or it may be that religious instruction is required for Roman Catholics in one of the colonies, where they have no means of getting and receiving the consolations of their religion, and for want of it the young are brought up irreligious, and ignorant of the divine truths. Are we to allow all these to go to hell, when we know that their religion will take them to heaven? we are therefore to blame if we do not assist them when it is in our power, to prevent them going to hell, while, by our means, they might go to heaven.

Now, we must approve of the grant to Maynooth, as a means of giving more liberal and enlightened views, and a better and more liberal education, and making them better understand the truths of their own religion, as well as the religion of others, and also of that source of truth and religion, the Bible, as well as to see and correct the errors and superstitions of their own religion.

Amongst the best means for improving and liberalizing the ideas

Reasons for
improving the
Irish priest-
hood.

of the Irish priesthood, is that of giving them a liberal education, and giving them a thorough knowledge of their own, as well as other religions, and putting into their hands books of all religions and creeds, and all kinds of books on science and general literature, that they may compare the one religion with the other, and pick and weed out what is bad of their own, for what is good of another; and we would also put into their hands the best versions of the Bible, both translated and the best untranslated that may be had, as well as the proofs and authorities for considering that they are correct; and they may compare them with their own, by liberalizing and cultivating their minds with other books than religious, and which are of an enlightened and liberal nature; it will make them turn from, and make them less likely to influence their flocks by superstitious means, or use their influence with them for purposes other than religious; and they will be more likely to be less sordidly inclined, which is a great cause of degradation to an illiterate priesthood, who take all opportunities of extracting money from their flocks for all purposes, real or not, whether they can afford it or not; and by being liberalized by a liberal education, they will be more inclined, and endeavour more to attend to true religion, and strive to improve their flocks in religion, and by their instruction, than use their power as a means of acquiring wealth to themselves, or for the purpose of influencing them for the benefit of others; and they will be more likely to be better paid, and also to be more respected by their flocks; as, if they are improved by religion, it will also better and improve their condition; a great assistant to this is to give the Roman Catholic poor a good and liberal education, and the superstition of the priests will take less effect on them, and they will understand the cause for the priests wishing to make them superstitious, as well as know when they are doing it; and they will also be able to judge of any errors and superstitions which are used, and which are contained and kept in their religion and doctrines, and the priests will be less able to influence them for evil; or when it is to answer their own sordid or unholy ends, or that of others, they will be able to perceive and discriminate between what is true and what is not, and what is religious or what is not, or what is interested or what is not, or what is for their own benefit, or what is for the benefit of others, or whether they are used for purposes other than religious, under the pretence of religion; and they will be able to judge when their priest uses and tries to influence them for his own benefit; and they will not allow themselves to be made instruments in the hands of the priests for evil purposes; and priests seeing they are likely to lose their authority, influence, or power, if they attempt to do what is contrary to religion, will be the less inclined to attempt doing what is wrong, as by being educated, their flocks will understand and disapprove of their motives. By being educated, their flocks will be more likely to be steady and industrious, and will thus be better able to give a more regular, and permanent income to their priests.

Means of im-
proving the
priesthood.

When they got the late grant to Maynooth, they ought at the same time to have got a library consisting of books of all descriptions, and on all religious subjects; and with reference to the different creeds, the students or young priests ought to have access to

all these, instead of being confined to a few religious books of their own religion, which a selfish, and interested, and illiberal priesthood might wish them only to read, to keep them in a state of unenlightened ignorance, and conceal from them the real truth, or the opportunity of getting at the truth. If their religion is true, what need have they to fear their young priests reading on other religions? and if it is not true, we had as well withdraw any grant, and use all our influence in repressing their religion. Protestant clergymen and students are allowed to read any books they please, whether Roman Catholic or Atheistical; they are even recommended, and desired to read them, as a means of getting at the real truth, and as a means of confirming them in their own religion, as they then can judge of the truth of their own religion, by comparing it with others; and if they find their own is the best, it leaves a good and permanent impression on them, as they then know it is the best, and are not in doubts about its not being in accordance with truth, and that there may be others better than theirs is, and they thus rest satisfied with their own religion, and are not easily to be turned from it; but if they do not know and understand other religions, their truths may attract and convert them, or make them dubious of their own.

Indeed Protestants who are educated, all examine and read books on the Roman Catholic religion, to give them a knowledge of it, and shew them the difference between the two faiths; and they also examine the Roman Catholic version of the Bible; we do not therefore see why such a liberal, and requisite liberty and opportunity is not given, and granted to Roman Catholic priests, students, and adherents; it shews an illiberal, uneducated, and ignorant spirit, and shews a fear that their religion is wrong in its whole principles, and that it cannot stand the test of the Protestant religion and its publications; the Roman Catholics ought to have such a varied and liberal library both at Maynooth and Dublin, and elsewhere, and they ought to allow and insist on their students reading the books on the different religions as a necessary and requisite part of their education; at least they ought to have the liberty of reading what books they please, and have free and unrestrained access to them at all times. It is the duty of the Government to furnish and insist on the students having such a library, and having permission to peruse such books as they think fit; it is only carrying out the intention of the grant, which will lose much of its good effect if it is not done.

By the priesthood not being educated, they lose the opportunity of weeding out the errors and superstitions of their faith, and they continue in their errors in blindness and in slavishness, when by an improved and liberal education, they might be so much improved, as well as their religion and also their flocks, and the whole country as well as themselves in a pecuniary point of view, and as a great means they ought to have a liberal library given to them, with free permission to the students to peruse any and all of the books. Such libraries might even be circulated throughout the principal towns of Ireland, with the most simple books containing the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion, as well as those of other religions; but we daresay the illiberal spirit of the present priests would pro-

hibit the people from perusing them, which only tends to shew that there are many errors in the teaching and actions of the Irish priesthood, from want of education, than elsewhere; at present, generally, the people could not understand or appreciate the differences of doctrine. If our religion is the true one, what need have we to fear the Roman Catholics?

Endowment
of Roman
Catholics.

There have been some rumours about endowing the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland. Some may suppose there can be no objection in endowing the priesthood, after giving an endowed grant to Maynooth for the education of priests, but there is really a very wide difference between the two; in the one case, that of education, it is a great means of enlightening and improving, and laying open the errors of their religion; in the other case it is sanctioning and keeping up the errors of the Roman Catholic faith; and until they are rid of these very glaring errors, as the confession and forgiveness of sins, which the Almighty only has the power of freely forgiving, and until they bear a nearer approximation to the other religions and establishments of Great Britain and Ireland, it is impossible to endow the whole body of the Irish priesthood.

Supposed pre-
cedents for
endowing
them.

It has been said we have a precedent for endowing the Roman Catholic clergy. It has been said Lower Canada is a precedent for endowing them, but it is not so, as they were endowed while it was a French colony, and when it was conquered by the British, they, to keep them all the easier under their control, and to save themselves the expense consequent on their rebelling, tried to preserve their fidelity by making their situation as good, if not better, than they were under the French; and by their liberality in this respect, and as one of the means of keeping them quiet, they granted them the endowments they had under the French, as well as many of their laws and language in the courts of law, which last was a very impolitic measure, as it always kept up the distinction and remembrance of their former origin, and they never afterwards became properly amalgamated to the British. It is quite impossible, under such circumstances, that the British could take away their endowments from them; it would be a breaking of the public faith, and they might find it again a difficult matter to preserve a part of their dominions in peace, or it might be with great difficulty that they might acquire a part, by such a breach of faith in such an important point. No doubt, in case of their rebelling, after being quelled they might then justly take it from them; but it would not be very politic to do it in the case of Canada, as we have the United States so close at hand. It has been said that other colonial Roman Catholic churches get endowments. It is certainly true that in places where the colonists are few, and not able to keep a clergyman, that for every L.100 they themselves subscribe, another is given by the Government, but even this is not a precedent; it is a case where they will be debarred from all religious worship if it is not given, and it is the interest of the State to keep its subjects in foreign parts as religious and moral as it is possible, as a means of their being more easily governed, and less troublesome to the mother-country and their fellow-colonists, and in this case they subscribe a half. It has been and is said that the Roman Catholics of Ireland have as good a right to be endowed as the Protestants. The tithes and

revenues of the Irish Church were not taken or derived from the ancestors of the present Roman Catholics, who may be said to be of English origin; they were derived from the ancient Irish when that country became a possession of the English in the time of Elizabeth, and were granted by her and by the nobles who got possessions at that time, and they, as well as the most of the estates in Ireland, were derived from the same source, namely, from a conquered, and, at that time, barbarous country, in an uncivilized age, and is still possessed by their descendants, so that it could never be said that they were taken from the Roman Catholics; but even if it were so, the length of time since that occurred, and the age in which they were taken, and from its being got by right of conquest from, at that time, a foreign and independent nation, as it was until the reign of Henry VIII., and it was not finally subdued until the reign of Elizabeth. The Roman Catholics cannot pretend to have any claim to it from priority of possession.

It has been said, the Roman Catholics have a better right to the revenues of the Church of Ireland, because they are far more numerous than the Protestants, and that it is not fair for such a large majority to support the religion of a minority who are of a different religion; so far as numbers go, the Roman Catholics have a right; they certainly have it on their side; but we fear they are wrong, if they consider from whose land the greatest amount of tithe and revenue comes off. There is no doubt that the Protestants possess more land, and pay more tithes and revenue than the Roman Catholics do, and they have no right on this account; but if they had more land, and paid more tithes than the Protestants, it cannot be said that they pay it, as it is property belonging to the Irish Church, on Protestant as well as on Roman Catholic land. When the Church received it, the property was possessed by Protestants, and the revenues were a perpetual mortgage on these conquered lands, given to, and possessed by the Church, whether these lands were possessed by Protestants, or Roman Catholics, or persons of any other religion, or of no religion at all; and if the Church had paid for it, the Roman Catholics would have had no better right to it, as most of the estates were got in the same way by the first or original proprietors; and they might also claim the rest of the estate, as well as that portion of the revenue belonging to the Church, and which the Church has a better right to than the present proprietors, if they are not descendants of the original persons who got the first grant of the estates; but if they are the original proprietors, they have as good, and just the same right as the Church has to her share of the estates; as from the good the Church has done, and from its having kept it so long, it has a better right than those who have bought the portion of the revenue or estate, which did not belong to the Church, from the original proprietors.

The Church of Ireland's portion of the revenue of the land is a share, and is the same as a share of any other kind, except, that it is so permanent and cannot be changed; or it may be said to be a fixed share, and the Roman Catholics have just as good a right to any one else's share, or to the share of a property got by conquest, which you might claim a hundred years after, because your forefathers possessed it, and you were their real heirs or descendants; but

Right of Roman Catholics to the Irish Church revenues.

of course, all know that this would be absurd and unreasonable ; so it is equally unreasonable, and more so, with regard to the Church which is doing good to all.

But if the Roman Catholics had any right to the Irish revenues (we will say at least as good a right, but this is done away with or lost by time), how can they now expect any of it, as they are not now sufficient to answer the Protestant clergy who require more endowments ? It is impossible now to take them from them, when they are already too small, and give them to a religion which is not approved of by the State, and which they cannot say that it contributes so large a portion of revenue as the Protestants do ; but it can be said, that they contribute no part of these revenues, which are derived from a share from the lands to which they have as good, if not a better right, than the other occupants, shareholders, or possessors. It would be unfair, and impossible to be done ; it would be doing a great injury ; it would be doing away with a religion which has now too small a revenue, for a religion, which is quite contrary to that of the State, there is great absurdity and contradiction in the idea of giving up a portion of revenues which are already too small for a favoured religion, and a religion which has stood so long, and got a grant of the revenues for themselves only, to attempt to give or take away a part of these revenues, which are if they will say that the people pay them, paid by such a large majority of the Protestant proprietors of the soil, to a religion to which they and the State in its principles are so strongly opposed.

If they cannot, with any right or reason, or from the smallness of them, get these (that is, the present revenues of the Church, or a portion of them), where or how are they to get endowments ; or how are they to be endowed ? Are they to form a tax on the already overtaxed and overburdened soil ? We do not suppose the Protestant proprietors would agree to this, although the Roman Catholic majority, in numbers of human beings over the Protestants, might agree to this ; but with the present burdens on the soil, it would be impossible to put on so great an additional one, for so vast and immense a number of people, when we know, that for a smaller number of Protestants, it takes such a large sum to give them religious instruction, and which is said to be deficient.

Where then are the revenues to come from to endow the Roman Catholic clergy ? Where the number of the Catholics are so great, it would take an immense yearly sum to half do it, and this would be of no use. It is impossible for the nation to grant it ; it would be impossible for them to raise it from Ireland, and we do not suppose that it would be raised elsewhere, for that purpose ; it would be an utter impossibility. Better at once to do away with State endowments, as if you were to give a part of the revenues of the Irish Church for the endowment of Roman Catholics, it is equivalent to doing away with the State endowment of the religion of the State, to a religion which is opposed to it ; it would be equivalent to giving up the English Church, and all the Establishments of the kingdom. If you could find, and fairly get, and set agoing a substitute, as good as that given up, it would be better to give up endowments by the State.

The people of Ireland are not able to pay for an extra endowment ;

but we are happy to remember years ago, that the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, with great good sense, and with a high-spirited independence of mind, repudiated the idea of taking or wishing an endowment; and such was the opinion of their great adviser, and one who knew all their feelings and wishes. It was the opinion of Mr O'Connel and the Roman Catholic clergy, that they ought not to take endowments, and we have heard the same thing said since his death; and we remember, when the Establishments wished for more endowments, the Roman Catholics disapproved of it and opposed it, and all endowments from the State, either for these or themselves, there was a general clamour in the nation; and if any are inclined to take them, we would advise them, if they wish to keep up their respect with their countrymen, and the independence which they have all along held in supporting their own priesthood, they ought openly to assert that they do not wish for endowments. It would certainly be a pity to change their opinions on this subject, and meet with nothing but disappointment, as it is more than likely that such will be the case, when they already know the present state of Ireland, and the impossibility of her being able of herself to endow them, and when they know the low state of the finances of the whole nation, burdened as it is with debt, and from the present revenue being no more than sufficient to bear the present expenses of the country; and as it is likely that this revenue will be wished to be diminished rather than augmented, they will then see how impossible it is for the country to grant such a large endowment, and they ought therefore to support the opinion of their priesthood, and with independence of spirit support their own clergy, as they have done it so long.

The grant to Maynooth was with the view of giving a good, and liberal, and free education, and this is enough (with general education to all) to give them enlightened and liberal views, and to cause them to command the respect of the rich as well as the poor, and they will all the readier support, esteem, and trust them; and these priests will be of a superior, honester, more liberal, and more independent, and not of a mercenary nature; and they will have the manners, sentiments, and feelings, and education, which will make them stand on a footing with any of the gentry, and will be more able to associate with them, and will more likely be received into their trust and confidence, and be their spiritual advisers. And they will always be received willingly and with welcome, instead of having an education, and manners, and acquirements, which does not raise them above the level of the lowest of the poor and uneducated, from whom most of them are at present sprung, at least a great many of them, and with opinions and ideas of an illiberal kind, and of an ignorant, and mercenary, and selfish nature; and being easily guided and swayed by any demagogue who may dictate and rule them for his own purposes, they will judge and think for themselves, and will judge, and think, and walk uprightly, religiously, and conscientiously, and will only use their influence over their flocks for good, and their knowledge of their evil deeds to improve them, and to turn them from evil, instead of getting them into their power by having a knowledge of their evil deeds extracted from them at confession; and thus com-

Grant to Maynooth was to liberalize the students.

pulling them to obey their worst, most evil, and malignant behests, and crimes, and desires, by pardoning them and remitting their sins. We know that in the fire-burning, by the Irish peasantry, some who would not obey them when sober, to do their unearthly and fiendish work, got drink from the priests, immediately after coming out of the chapel, to go and set fire to some houses with the inmates in them. Now a more enlightened and liberal education will soften such barbarous and inhuman feelings, and give them a higher sense of honour and self-respect, and it will make them know and feel right and wrong, and will make them the more easily feel and be touched by the workings of conscience. An unscrupulous, and illiterate priesthood has been the curse of Ireland, and there is nothing which will improve her more than an enlightened, well educated, and God-fearing priesthood, as they have the Irish poor so much in their power, and can so sway them for good or evil.

The Irish nation has been a source of great expense and trouble to the nation at large from its first conquest, and it has been her religion and her priesthood that has been the principal cause of it, and it is therefore necessary to get their priesthood educated, and more liberal; and it has been from the want of this that has made them stir up their flocks, and support any demagogue that may wish to use the influence of their flocks for their own purposes. We cannot destroy their religion and priests, and the only thing that can be done or tried, is to try to improve them by educating them, and irradicating the evil and illiberal tendency of their minds, and make them attend more to religion than to worldly affairs, and to improve their flocks; and it is our duty to choose the least of two evils, if it is thought both are evils; we cannot surely call education an evil. If their religion is bad, they will be less able to see the evils of it if they are uneducated, as also their flocks; and if there are errors in it, and if it is not a true religion, and if our religion is better, by being uneducated, they will not be able to find out the errors of their own, and the truths of ours; and it is therefore necessary that they are educated to understand such things clearly and impartially; and as they have not the means or the will themselves, it is our duty as Protestants to give them the means for the purpose, and as a means of irradicating the errors of their religion. (Do Romanists endow Protestants in this and other states? Would they, if the state were able?)

POPULAR NOTIONS ON
SCRIPTURE.

The Devil and his power.

People generally often put a wrong construction on certain passages of Scripture, and there is one in particular, and one which gives a very erroneous idea of the Maker of all, and takes away from his great power as being the Ruler, Director, Maker, and Governor of all. It is a great error at the foundation of the Gospel; and as regards there being a Supreme Being, it gives him less power, or, it might be said, no power at all, if they believe that God could not, and does not, and is not, the prime mover, originator, and

director of sin. They say that God can do no sin, and that it is the devil who is the father of sin. They say that God can do no sin, and that it is the devil who alone sins and causes sin, and is the originator of sin—that is, he is the father of all sin. Now, we will ask, who is the devil? or what is the devil? or who made the devil? We say God made and created the devil, and he made him with power, and every movement of his was the work of his Creator, and without him he would not have been, and without him he could do nothing of himself. All his powers and actions were from God, and are only through God's will and power alone, and without him he is powerless and helpless. The devil is a fallen angel, and one who was said to have sinned and rebelled against his Maker and Master. He was said to be one of the fairest and most powerful of all the angels, and he, rebelling against God with other angels, was cast out of the presence of his Maker, and they with him; and, as a punishment for rebelling, they were cast into hell, and from a state of perfect purity, and exaltation, and power, approaching to that of their Maker, they were transferred or transformed into a state of sin and wickedness; and from being ministers of purity and holiness, they were punished, and turned, and made into ministers of all that is sinful and wicked. It was this great and opposite contrast to what they had been that made the punishment so great.

Who made man? God created man and endowed him as he is, Man and his and made him after his own image; and he gave man powers of origin and rectitude, and the power to resist temptation and sin; and having power.
made man out of his own good pleasure, and without any assistance or aid of any kind, he can do with him as he thinks fit. He had a right to make him, as he made and could make him either good or bad, without giving any reasons for it, and for reasons and wise ends and purposes only known and understood by himself; but he made man a perfect being, with the power of being tempted if he did not use the powers and faculties to resist sin which had been given to him; and he gave to the devil the power of originating all kinds of wickedness and sin, and he could have made and kept the devil perfect, holy, and pure as he was before he rebelled; but he had also given to him powers to be tempted, and to resist temptation when it was placed in his way; but for his own wise purposes, and as a part of a wise and all-powerful and all-seeing system, he allowed of his being tempted as well as man; and he therefore, as a punishment, and as a degrading punishment, and as a contrast to his former purity, cast him out of his presence, and gave him the ignoble, and debasing, and degrading power of tempting man to sin, and of his possessing the power to originate wickedness and sin. If it had answered the ends and purposes of God, he could have prevented the devil from rebelling, and could have kept him as pure and holy as ever. If it had answered his inscrutable and unsearchable, and mysterious and wise ends, he could have given man the power of not being tempted to sin; but he gave him the faculties and power, and if he used them aright, he could have resisted the tempter; but not obeying the counsels of God, and doing that which he was told would not be in accordance with the desires of God, the weak part of his nature was too weak to resist the wiles and temptations of God's minister of sin, the devil,

Power of man to resist sin.

The devil has no power of himself.

and he fell, and his whole race are under the power of Satan, that is, by their first father Adam sinning. The devil got the power from God, not of himself—it was from God he got this power; and if it had been the will of God, he would not have got it, and could take it from him and render it of no effect; but he got it from God to answer his own wise and mysterious ends, and man was at the same time endowed with powers of uprightness and rectitude, and powers of resisting temptation greater than the powers of the devil to tempt him; and if man will use these powers, he can resist the devil; and man is so far left to himself by his Maker, and to his own faculties which have been bestowed upon him.

God can do
no sin.

It has been said that God can do no sin. Now, we must not take this in its plain sense. It is true he does no sin; he has delegated this power to his prime minister of sin, as he may be called, and who has been endowed, and is endowed with every faculty, sense, or feeling by God. By God alone he has got so much power to sin, and God leaves him alone with this power to tempt and do evil, and sin, and this is a part of his punishment. Now, where does the devil get this power? did he originate it, or does he originate it of himself? No, he is powerless of himself. God, his Maker, gave him, or forced on him, and endowed him with this power. Now who is it that originates, or originated, and is the author of sin?—is it God, or the devil? It is God, his Maker; but the devil is his instrument or minister of sin; and it is God who causes sin, as he is the originator of it. God causing or allowing of sin does not, and has no harm, and does not take away from the sanctity of his name. He is the Maker of all, whether it appear to us in the light of good or evil; and he uses them for his own wise and mysterious ends. He can make a devil in an instant, or he may not do it for ages; it is his will that he does not do it, or does it; and he can make him pure and perfect, and can make him wicked and sinful; no one has any right which he does, or what he does; it does not take away from the holiness and purity of his character, whether he makes the devil holy or wicked; he can make him as he pleases; it is done to answer his own purposes, and it may be for some wise end, and it may be to cause great good. Now God, after taking ages to make the devil, can unmake and destroy him in one moment, it may be to shew the inscrutableness, and unsearchableness, and mysteriousness, and the depth of his works and ways, and to impress us with his greatness, which are beyond the comprehension and understanding of man. Now God also made man holy, perfect, and pure; but also, to answer his own purposes, he gave the devil, as a part of his degrading punishment, the power to tempt man, and to make him sin; but God gave man greater powers of resisting temptation and sin, if he wished, and if he tried to resist it, than he gave the devil powers of tempting man. Who did all this? It was God who did it all, and he alone; and he could then, and could yet, make man and the devil entirely pure and holy, if it suited his ends. Man and the devil have no power either to resist temptation, or to tempt, or to sin, or to do good, unless God wishes or permits it. It is therefore God who sins, or originates it, for his own wise purposes; but he has delegated this power to the devil, and it is still under his control, and superintendence, and care, as well as all other things.

Some say it is not in accordance with Scripture for God to cause God causing famine. It is done to answer his own purposes ; it may be done for famine. our allowing ourselves to be tempted, and sinning ; it may be done to clear the earth of its inhabitants, from its being over-peopled. This may look as if it were contrary to what we consider the attributes of a holy and pure Being ; but he made all, and can do with all as he thinks proper. In the same way, why does he permit of war ?—why does he allow of the creatures whom he has made and reared to undo the work which he has done ? It is done only according to his views and ends ; or it may be they are tempted to it, and it may do an injury to them, and this is a way of shewing and preventing the evils of it ; or it may be done to punish the wickedness of a nation ; or it may be done because the people are too many for the land ; but his reasons we do not know, as they are beyond our knowledge, and we have no right to know, or be told them. He could make men in a moment—why does he not do so ? It does not answer his purpose. He does it for reasons of his own, and, it may be, for our future advantage, although present loss. It might be said, why does he create man, if he destroys him by famine, pestilence, and the sword ? But as he made us, without our knowing for what, so can he destroy us, without our knowing the reason of it, and he does it to serve his own purposes and wise ends. He could have made us all good, holy, and pure, and happy, and kept us so, perhaps, more easily than he could have made us sinful and wicked, and could have ruled and directed us easier by being so. Why has he not done it ? Why has he not made the world perfect at once, and science and knowledge perfect, instead of its being gradually done since the world was made until the last greatest and latest improvement. It might have been perfect at once, as there is nothing which has been made so perfect or difficult, or finely made as man, in all or one of his parts ; and man might have been also at first suited for this purpose of every thing being created perfect at the first origin of the world.

As to God's doing no sin, it is something like a king who according to law can do no sin, but delegates a prime minister ; it is he who gets the blame of any evil that is done, although the evil may have originated with the king, but the minister gets the blame of it.

Hell—what is hell ? It is difficult to conceive ; some say it is real bodily pain, caused by burning matter, but which does not destroy. And others, with more reason, say it is agony and anguish of mind ; or is it the spirits of the wicked dead remoulded and placed in clay, in the womb, and brought to life again in this same world, and brought up in a state of pain, misery, poverty, starvation, and wretchedness, and in bodily and mental anguish and pain. Can it be the spirit of the dead piece of clay that is buried replaced in another body of flesh, and born and brought up in misery—can this be hell ? Or can heaven be the spirit of the good, and holy, after the death and burial of their fleshy body, placed in a new frame or body, and brought up in comfort, holiness, purity, and happiness ? Or are there other worlds than this, peopled by inhabitants who are angels in comparison to us, and

What is hell?

What is heaven

are perfect and pure, and are in knowledge, science, and intellect, far beyond us, as their world is superior to ours a thousand-fold, in size and in its perfectness; and may there not be worlds of happiness, and holiness, and purity; and may there not be worlds of wretchedness, misery, ignorance, and wickedness; and may not our spirits after death, as we have been good or bad, be translated, and placed in a fleshy frame and body, and as we have been good or bad, so are we in a good and holy world, or in a wicked world, and a wretched world? May there not be worlds with degrees of superiority one above the other, and may not our spirits at death go to one as we improve, and then die there, and go to another still more superior in all respects; and may there not be good and bad worlds, equally enlightened but not equally good, and as we rise, and are good or bad, we go to one of these at our death; but at each death our spirits go to a more perfect world than the last, be it good or bad?

Are there
other worlds?

Is it possible that there is, or are, other globes, or worlds, or undiscovered lands in close connection with this present known world? We know that it is not to be found in the east or west; if the stars are worlds, may there not be a communication or junction of some with one another? and may there not be one or a series joined, or in contact with this our world or globe? And may not our globe be fixed, and move on another star, world, or globe, and it in the same way with ours, and this connection takes place at the Poles, and at the North and South Poles? There may be a world or globe in connection with ours, and these in connection with others; and these globes or worlds may, or may not, be inhabited with people superior or inferior to those of this world, or they may not be inhabited; but it is probable that they may not be inhabited, and may be a means of providing for a large or too great population in this globe. It may be a way of Providence directing the human race to discover these worlds, by directing and making them to explore and penetrate the frozen regions of the north and south; and it may also be seen in the attempts to discover a north-east passage—all workings of the Almighty to direct them to these worlds; and we may also see it, in the Almighty placing whales, particularly in the extreme southern and northern regions, as it may accustom them to, and cause the people of this world to go to and explore these regions; and they may, some time or other, hear or come on these worlds or new regions, with a mild and genial climate, if they could once pass a certain region of perpetual snow, or the snow-line that separates the two globes; but it might be said, it would be difficult to traverse and get through this region, but when the time arrives, there may be a power to convey us with swiftness, and in comfort, and with little trouble and expense, over these regions of snow. We see steam and railways—who would have dreamt of the possibility of steam-boats crossing the Atlantic 20 years ago?—It was considered as ridiculous and absurd in the extreme;—May there not be another power discovered greater than steam? As it is to horse power to overcome such difficulties, for instance, some of the gases may have such a strong power, and may be contained in a very small space, and may

be generated at almost no expense, and it may only require the heat of a small lamp to set it in motion. By such a power may all difficulties be overcome, when the human race have arrived at that state of perfection, when it is requisite for the wants and necessities of the human race. (If experiments had been carried on by the Government, and premiums given to discover a way of causing steam-carriages to go on common roads, it would have saved this great nation much loss and ruin. It has been said they cut up the roads, but by having very broad wheels, this would be prevented, and their speed would be superior to that of horses, although not so quick as that on rails.) The best way of carrying on discoveries in these regions is to do as near as possible as the natives do, and improve on their method of travelling and living, and to employ the natives and rein-deers to explore these regions.

May there not be a world superior to ours, where there is a king and governor, who rules over and directs our world, and many worlds, and may not the creator and governor of our world be a servant of that great Creator and King, as there are kings who are governors of colonies and islands larger, and as large, as the ruling kingdom, and more wealthy. And may not the devil, at one time, have been one of the governors of one of the worlds we see. The stars are said to be worlds far superior, and as superior to ours; may there not be a creator and governor for each of these like the Creator of this world? We know that our world is a mere speck in comparison to many of these, and we may be only insects in size and intellect in comparison to the inhabitants of thousands of these worlds; and may not some of these worlds be our heaven, and may we not be gradually translated from the one to the other, as we are holy or good, until we reach the best. There may be gradations of excellence—some worlds may be superior to others; but all this is fancy, we have no scriptural authority for believing so, but we may reasonably suppose this way, about heaven and hell, as any other way.

It has been said that we can perform all the miracles of Christ by animal magnetism. There is no doubt, as we see, and hear, and read, about animal magnetism, that when a person is in the clairvoyant state, that they can communicate with any part of the globe, and communicate and tell you what is going on in any distant place, as in the same house or street they may be in; and it has been said that we can cause death at any part of the globe by this means, and also disease of all kinds, and that we can cure them. All this is told in magnetism books, and we see very wonderful things done where there are lectures; and it is said to be common for some lecturers to make you, by affecting your hearing, fancy or hear persons speaking, although no one were near you; and also to make you suppose, when persons are passing under your window, that they are saying things about you, and speaking and addressing themselves to you, when they do not know you are there; and when they are speaking about any thing else than about you, and they do not know that you are even in existence, or, it may be, if a person is in the next or in the same room with you, or in a room below yours. It has been said that magnetism, although

a million of miles away from you, has the power of making you fancy, when you hear the sound of two persons or of one speaking, that they are talking of you; and it may be that the one is telling to the other some of your misdeeds, and this in the same room as you are in, and when you are standing beside them. Now, it happens, although you suppose you hear them, that they are not thinking any thing about you; but you fancy it, and it annoys and teases you very much; or it may be they are reading a book, and you fancy they are reading a part in allusion to you, or even saying things about you in print; but it is only fancy on your part—they are doing no such things; or it may be that it may make you fancy you hear in the next room, or in a room below you, or in the streets, voices the same as those of acquaintances whom you know, and you fancy they are saying things about you; but if you lift up the window, you may see people employed about any thing, but not the people you thought they were, and they are even at a distance, and not so near as you thought; and if you fancy you heard them down stairs, you perhaps only see children playing themselves, and you thought they were voices of people whom you knew, and who were saying things bad about you. Now, if such is true, it must be very disagreeable, and where it is used to make you fancy it, you suppose it is your friends or others that are doing it. It must cause great misery and annoyance and distrust, and more especially when you ask them if they did it, when they say they did not do it; but you are positive in fancying you heard them say things about you; but this being the case, you must believe your friends when they say they did not, and must not let out any thing about yourself to your friends. Although you fancy they said something about you, you must not say, Did I not hear you say such a thing about me to so and so,—I was in the next room, or below you, or on the outside, and heard you say it as plain as possible. You should say, What was that you said about me,—I thought I heard you? And they will tell, and look astonished, and say they did not, and that you are mistaken; and then you must believe them, and say no more about it; but you would think you surely could not be mistaken, if you heard them say it, if you were close beside them, and in the same room; and it might be quite possible that you even heard them say something similar to that which you had done, and this might be true; but still it might be by chance that they said it, and in reference to something or somebody else; but suiting your case exactly, you fancy it was about you they were speaking; but even although you heard them in the same room, you are as apt to be wrong. You may often fancy they are alluding and hinting about things concerning you, but even there you are wrong, and only fancy it. Those who are unwell or troubled with fever, or excitable, or whose organs of hearing are too acute or defective, are very apt to hear wrong and fancy such things, and they are very disagreeable fancies. They ought to believe what their friends say, however much they may fancy or suppose they have heard to the contrary. There is a certain state of the health, where you go about, and are in good health, but yet you are not well, and are apt to suppose these things. Some would call it insanity, or rather hypochondriasis, of a mild kind; but such it is, and it may continue for years. It is

apt to arise in the irritable, and jealous, and excitable. There is no use fancying people know you, and know all or anything about you, as it is more than likely they do not; however, never tell on yourself, or fancy what you suppose they know about you is very bad, but do not suppose it is so. Some fancy when they are going past any one that they are speaking about them, and that every one knows them; but this is fancy, and it is very common for persons to think so. Upon such cases, change of scene, and retirement into the country with friends, and occupation and soothing their feelings, and allowing them to walk or be alone in the open air, if they are pleased with it, and such like, do good. Many persons have a habit of rising during their sleep, and doing astonishing things. Some will secret money of their own; some will throw it over the window; and others will take it from other people, and will go into other rooms, and bring them into their own room, or even throw them away; and some will destroy books, and put things where they ought not to be, and in the morning they will say some one has stolen their money, or been into their room, and taken it, or put things there when they had no right to do it; some will write letters, some will write into account-books, and make entries, and mark out others, which causes serious mistakes, and they will blame others for doing it; some will climb precipices, where no one can go in the day-time. Quarrels, and mistakes, and suspicions are very apt to arise from these causes.

There is no doubt that, according to books, animal magnetism could perform the miracles and the death of the Saviour; but, if true, it is as possible, and more so, that it could be done, and was done to as great an extent, by the prophets, and that it comes from God whether it can be done or not; and if it can be done by magnetism, and if man has got the power, and knowledge, and gift of it, it is a new means with the oldness and improvement of the world, given to him by God for his use—it is the second sight, it is that power which God gave to the prophets of old, and to the apostles by Jesus Christ, who was a man, but in him was the Spirit of God, or God himself—that is, God came openly into the world, and mixed with and taught men under the disguise of humanity. It was his Spirit that directed particularly the tongue of the Saviour, and all his actions. What is the Sa-Spirit? It is difficult to make the young understand this Spirit. It may be supposed to be a gas or air, which is invisible, but which has great power. Some, as the gases composing air, when combined properly, invigorate and refresh us when we inhale it; others, again, are highly destructive, and destroy life when breathed; but we do not see them, yet they exist, and chemistry can discover and prove that such exist. Now, we must suppose the spirit or living principle of man, and which directs all his movements, is a gas or ethereal principle which is possessed by God, who is the maker of it, and who, by a power and means of his own, imparts a portion of it when man or the animals are first created, and this vivifying gas or ethereal principle has the power of increasing as man increases and grows, and it decays when man decays; and, it may be, and is likely that this spirit, as it is called, at the death of the body, either is replaced in another frame, and old age being a second childhood, it is fitted for the body of a

child ; but the Scriptures say it ascends to its Maker, and goes to hell or to heaven. It may be likened to steam of a steam-engine.

We may easily perceive and have a good idea of the power and the way in which the Spirit operates, and how it may be made to move and regulate movements, and also its invisibility and subtlety, and the possibility of it. We may see it in the invisible and more than ethereal and powerful spirit or life, or moving power which man creates and sets in motion by a few simple materials ; and we may see from this the possibility of God creating and setting in motion such a power as the spirit of man, or the life or vital principle which is so immensely superior to the spirit of man's making and directing, namely, electricity and the electric telegraph, which may be said to communicate as quick as thought, and it yet remains to be seen what it yet can do ; and we may also behold in the electric telegraph the kind of means and the way in which the spirit, or life, or intelligence, and sensation of all kinds is carried from the brain to the most extreme parts of the body by the nerves.

Now the Creator has the power of making his own particular spirit descend into man, and this man on whom it is is no other than God, although in the likeness of a man. Or, we may suppose God to speak to man, and man to say after God what he hears God to say, and that no other person but this person that speaks, hears, or does what God speaks to him, or directs and gives him the power to do. In the same way one repeats a sermon after a minister ; although this one says it, yet it is the minister's spirit or words that this one speaks. In the same way, by God's Spirit in Christ, the human being, by descending amongst men in this way, he wished to make himself more intelligible to man,—it was a way in which he wished to impress on man his wonders and truths, and a knowledge and belief of himself, and it was in this way that he tried the belief of man towards himself, and wished to impress him more readily, and more easily to make himself known to the whole world ; and it was for this improvement and alteration of his worship, necessary to the improved and advanced state of the world, and for its improvement, that he poured himself and his Spirit into the earthly frame of man. It was God himself, who to impress his divinity more plainly and intelligibly, took this method of impressing on man a knowledge and belief of himself by his great works, and the miracles he could perform, and that there was truly a great Being, the Creator of all ; and by doing it openly and before men, it would be handed from one another, and down to one another ; and by being before witnesses, it would be more readily believed, and would be a great means of propagating his existence, and a firmer belief in him, and the new, and simple, and necessary form of worship which he required.

Supposed way
in which God
watches and
protects us.

It has been said, that by animal magnetism we can watch over and protect men while asleep. We know that parents often waken in a fright ; and have fearful dreams, and perhaps months after, they hear that their son has been killed at that time, or within a short period of it. Can there be any communication of the spirit between man and man, so as while asleep the spirit of a mother watches and directs the spirit of a son ? Is this the way in which the Creator protects his created ? Is this the reason we do not in this globe all

sleep at one time? that one portion watch and protect the other, and guide them; or are the inhabitants of the other worlds watching us when we are asleep and awake? We have heard of persons dreaming of danger, and changing a road on this account, and being saved; and they have afterwards found out that some one was watching them to injure them. Can any of these circumstances be true? Are all languages the same when we are asleep? or has the spirit a peculiar way and means of communicating? These are strange and curious fancies; but we leave them to the curious, the learned, and the wise, to meditate and muse over.

Many suppose that the reading of sermons is unscriptural; they fancy it from the Shorter Catechism saying, that the reading of the Word, but more especially the preaching of it, is recommended by the Scriptures. Now there are many who only take a glance at what they learn, without knowing or thinking about the meaning of it, and it is so in this case.

Reading and preaching sermons from heart.

We ourselves have heard this given as a proof of it, that the reading is not recommended, but the preaching. Now the reading only means the reading of the Bible, and not a sermon. It is a very simple mistake; but there are many who give it the wrong meaning, but especially old people in country places.

The preaching, to expound, and explain, and lay open the doctrines of the Bible, as well as to enforce moral truths that are in accordance with the Bible. Now there is no doubt you listen better and more attentively to a discourse that is not read, as there is more excitement, vivacity, and animation, to attract and keep up the attention; but there is not always the same substance and correctness when it is not read. However, there are many good and talented divines who could not utter a dozen of lines correctly and distinctly if they did not read them, but who, if they were allowed to read them, would give far better sermons than any divine who gave extempore sermons, and which sermons would do great good, and explain, and expound, and enforce the truths of Scripture more clearly and impressively; and it is generally the case, and cannot but fail to be so, that the best sermons are those which are written and read. Some say, Oh, they could read it themselves, if the minister would give them his written sermon; but it would take a long time to go over the congregation—one doing does for all, and it is the duty of all to listen and hear sermons in the way in which they are most effectual. No doubt, they may listen best to them when they are not read, but it is only in the nature of things that more pains is taken with a sermon which is written, and it is generally better, than one which is not, and it is a sure sign that some attention has been bestowed on it. There are many who never study their sermons; they perhaps only know their texts before they enter the pulpit. Some have bad memories, but will give good written discourses. Old pastors, and those of talent, but with bad memories, require to read.

There are many parts of the Catechism of the Church of Scotland which require explanation, but they are on the whole very simple and easily explained; but we wonder that most clergymen do not go over the whole of the Catechism by times, and take them as their texts, and give regular lectures on them, and thus explain them to all, and it would impress on them the principles of their

Catechism of the Scotch Church.

faith, as well as teaching them their duty, and explaining the difficult parts as well as the simple, to those who did not understand them. It ought to be gone over once a-year.

Punishing the innocent for the guilty.

There are many who suppose, that when a person commits a murder, that his sin or sins will be visited on his children until the third and fourth generation. We suppose there are instances of this, but it is not what we are taught by the general principles of the Scriptures. If such a father has a holy son, who has tried to prevent his father from committing this crime, and has frequently before striven to prevent him doing evil; now if this son continues good, and his children after him, the Scriptures lead us to suppose, that in this case, that the iniquities of the father will not be visited on the son or children to the third and fourth generation; but if the son had been wicked, and his children after him, it is naturally to be supposed, and is in accordance to a certain extent, that the iniquities of the father will be visited on the son; but even a father that murders is pardoned, and this is in accordance with Scriptures.

Visiting on children the sins of the Father.

It is common for some to visit upon children the injury done to them by a father, because they had the child in their power, and could not get the father. This is certainly unscriptural and cowardly in the extreme; or, it may be, the father for himself has handed them his son to be punished—this is certainly an encouragement of sin, and doing an evil and a great injury. You may as well hang a son, because his father committed murder, and allow the father to escape and commit more murder—this is only encouraging crime, and committing a double murder.

Punishment of the wicked, and escaping detection.

It has been thought by some that God does not and will not punish the wicked; but if we read the Bible, we will see many proofs of such punishments, and that of the severest kind, on those who have disobeyed his laws, and who were greatly favoured by him. If we look at 2d Samuel, 12th chapter, with regard to the crime committed by David, it says at the tenth verse, the sword will never depart from thine house. 11th verse, I will raise up evil against thee in thine own house. We see this in chap. 13, in the defilement of Tamar by her brother Amnon, and we see it in the death of the child that was born by Uriah's wife; and we also see it in the rebellion of Absalom, in chap. 24th; for numbering the people against God's will, he is punished by a three days' pestilence. It only shews, that however we may fancy we will escape punishment, yet that it will surely await us some time, and in some way or other when we least expect it; and that we may flourish and suppose that we have escaped, yet it will come on us when we least expect it. Often we, when in sickness, or in our sleep, or from remorse, or in the rage and delirium of fever, or when insane, reveal and lay open our wickedness and crime, and in this way lay ourselves open to discovery, and to punishment, either to that of the law, or to the estrangement or disgust of our friends. Many things are said in delirium about ourselves which really refer to others; and it is as well to keep this in mind.

Is it scriptural or not to take stimulant liquors?

Some make a great work about the unscripturalness of taking stimulating liquors, as well as in many other cases, and pretend to give proofs of it in the Scripture; but we are of opinion, if taken in moderation, it is not unscriptural, and is no more so than taking

meats or drinks of any kind, or even using our tongues ; if we eat immoderately, it is intemperate, and forbidden by Scripture ; if we drink water in the same way to hurt ourselves, it is unscriptural ; if we speak intemperately, it is forbidden by the Scriptures ; and if we drink stimulants intemperately, it is forbidden by the Scriptures ; but wine is useful on many occasions, and if taken in moderation it does no harm, and has an enlivening effect ; it is only when it gives rise to the loss of the senses, and when it causes evil, and raises our passions, and when it does us harm, and when got and taken, when we are not able to pay for it, that it is unscriptural. We know our Saviour made wine out of water ; and we know that it is used at the Sacrament, and it is not totally prohibited by the Scriptures. It is only when we make a bad use of it that we are recommended not to take it, or when we find we cannot resist its allurements ; but where it does no injury, it may be taken according to the general tenor of the Scriptures, but it is as well to do without it, and it is as safe, and we are as healthy without it ; but it is not unscriptural to take it in moderation, or anything else that is not particularly stated to be so in Scriptures.

I R E L A N D.

WE do not know whether it is that the revenue of Ireland is too small to afford to pay the yearly income of the Lord Lieutenant, and that it is also too great for Great Britain to pay it, or that by having a Lord Lieutenant it keeps up the appearance of Ireland being an independent kingdom, and by being so considered her people are more likely to act for their own private interests than for the general interests, and as if she were not a part of a kingdom. It has been said that one of these two reasons has been the cause of rumours that the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is to be done away with. We suppose it is not the amount of his income; it may be that with some, but really it is almost nothing, and is spent for the good of Ireland; aye, and more than that sum, and is the cause of a great deal more being spent there. It is likelier the reason for not wishing a Lord Lieutenant, is, that it gives the Irish the feeling of their being a distinct, and separate, and independent kingdom, with single, and separate, and distinct interests of their own; and she may consider that Britain, when she is legislating for her in London, is the same as a foreign interested power interfering with her rights and affairs for their own private benefit, and without a due regard to the interests of Ireland, and to the feelings of the Irish. There is no doubt that this feeling of being an independent nation might exist before the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and it was at the Union that the office of Lord Lieutenant might have been given up; but it was retained to keep up the semblance of their independence, and to spare the feelings of the Irish; and the title and the office were kept up, as there required to be a head to superintend the whole of the governmental department of Ireland; as at the time of the Union the communication between Dublin and London, on account of the distance between the two, took up so much time before any important and necessary steps of any kind could be transacted and communicated, which might require immediate and prompt advice, decision, and operation, and they therefore required to have a person always there as a responsible head, or as the representative of the crown or government, who was always prepared to give the necessary directions on his own responsibility, and that of the crown, without communicating with the government at London, before any measure, requiring prompt and decisive operation could be carried into effect, as if

The necessity of having or not having a Viceroy for Ireland.

they had been obliged to wait for the opinion and permission of the government at London; it might have been too late for it to be carried into effect; and besides it was inconvenient generally, on account of the every-day business that was transacted. And it must have been thought necessary to retain the Lord Lieutenant, with proper officers and counsellors, to guide and rule Ireland temporarily; but it was also conceded to the feelings of the Irish, as it kept up the semblance of their former independence, and as it would have been too great a shock if all the insignia of her former independence had been taken away. And it was conceded to the feelings of the Irish before the Union was accomplished, as a means of getting the Irish people to agree to the Union, and they thinking that they had the appearance or reality of their independence, when they had the external marks of royalty remaining, they let go the substantiality, or reality, with less reluctance.

Has the time arrived, or when is it likely to arrive, so as not to require a Viceroy.

Some have said the time has not yet arrived to do without a Lord Lieutenant. The time has not arrived for effecting this or any thing else, has become a cant phrase in every person's mouth who does not wish to do away with any measure; but he, at the same time, wishes you to believe that he quite agrees with you that the measure is an evil, or that it would be better to be remedied or done away with. Another addition to this phrase is that the country is not yet prepared for it, or the people are not prepared for it, either by education, religion, or civilization. Many who really do not wish, and who do not agree with any measure, use these very convenient phrases to get off from giving a decided opinion that they disapprove of such measures as they may be speaking about, and applying the phrases to. In the same way they have said the time has not arrived to do without a Viceroy for Ireland. Now, whether it is the case or not, or whether it is likely it will ever be the case, which we do not know, as we are not at present aware when that will be the case, as we do not know the reasons for allowing it to be the case; but we know that there is one reason which makes it more likely to be allowed than it was when the Union took place, and that is, that the Irish are quieter, and more easily governed, than they were then—that they are better educated—that they are more temperate—and that communications can reach London in such a short time as to allow of little delay occurring to stop the business of the government; but still we do not think the time has arrived; and we do not know what further circumstances will allow of the Viceroy's withdrawal; it may be when people are less likely to be affected by fancies, and more by realities, and when people give up travelling and seeking amusement, and are satisfied to remain at home, content with home, and country amusements, and employments, and sports, or means by which money is spent some way or other. Where the country is not a manufacturing one, the country will be no better of the nobility and gentry, if they hoard up their money; and if the country becomes a manufacturing one, there will be more need of a permanent and resident head; and it does not matter whether he is called a Mayor, Provost, Governor, Viceroy, or Lord Lieutenant; and a head to a certain extent responsible they must have, as there is a rough and

boisterous sea between the two countries during winter, when no communication can be made.

When the time may arrive when it is allowable, it does not at present signify, or what are the circumstances that will make it permissible for the doing away with the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. All we can say is, that in our opinion, and according as Ireland and her people at present are, the time for doing away with it has not yet arrived, and there is no appearance of it for the next thirty years at the soonest; but there is at present more need of it than ever there was, and we might say it is only now for the first time that a Lord Lieutenant is or was required.

The Irish being naturally a gay, thoughtless, generous, kind, brave, and high-spirited race, and being easily affected and influenced by their feelings and passions, either good or bad; but the good predominating over the bad, they are very susceptible and easily influenced by kindnesses and favours done to themselves singly, or to others, and are ready to assist and be ruled by those from whom they receive a benefit or kindness, and are affectionate in the extreme to those amongst whom they have been brought up, and from whom they have received single or constant favours and benefits, and for these they are ready to fight or die, whether they desire them to do good, or what is bad or evil; but this indiscriminate feeling and affection will be greatly modified by education, although not wholly; but it will not tell the less, when it is for good; but it will be more thoughtful, and less likely to be done, where it is for evil, and to do an injury to another from an affection to any.

From this great susceptibility and affection for those who assist them, or whom they see trying to assist them, or assisting others, it leaves and has a very good relative and moral effect, where it occurs in high and conspicuous places, and they take on and have a general liking, good-will, and a kindly feeling and regard for those from whom such favours come, and they are less apt to be jealous of any good that is intended to them, and less likely to oppose it, from a belief that it is not for their good, and that every thing that comes from that quarter is only to turn to their harm and injury, and for their own benefit. Now, if it is possible to leave and make such a favourable impression constantly and permanently, and thus wear gradually away and out the old animosity, hatred, ill-will, ill-feeling, jealousy, and distrust of the Irish towards the English, and consequently towards all measures which may be issued by them towards Ireland, it might and would be a great means of quieting, and ameliorating, and improving the condition of the whole Irish nation, and rendering it more easily and less expensively governed; and instead of being a constant source of annoyance and trouble to the British nation, and without any benefit but loss to it, it might be a great means of strengthening, cementing, benefiting, and consolidating more firmly, each, and the whole British nation, when it may be said now, more than ever, that she has, and will have, to depend on her own power and resources in time of need. The Irish have at present a general feeling of dislike to the English, and this has continued since the time of the conquest of Ireland by the English; first by the native Irish,

General character of the Irish.

The Viceroy a means of improving and quieting the Irish.

and afterwards by the English themselves, against their English brethren, and more particularly the Anglo-Irish, of whom Ireland may now be said to be nearly wholly inhabited; and it was the Roman Catholics of these who were tyrannized over by their Protestant brethren of Ireland and of England; and from the Protestants taking and confiscating their property, and withholding from them every right, either civil or religious, and from the Roman Catholics always rebelling, and even joining foreign powers against their Protestant brethren, they got much of their property and all their rights taken from them, and being so kept down until the time of Queen Anne, that they had the bitterest hatred and animosity against their Protestant brethren and the English; but since the time of Queen Anne, they have gradually got the same rights as Protestants have; but it has been with difficulty, and the opposition, and the strife that has taken place in trying to get these, has kept up the deadly hatred at one time, but something more than dislike up to the time of the Emancipation Bill passing, since which time this hatred has been gradually dying away, but there is still a general and popular feeling of dislike to the English nation. Now it is this dislike, suspicion, and distrust of the English and their legislation, and attempts to remedy and improve the condition of the Irish that ought constantly to be attempted to be eradicated. There is little doubt that education, an enlightened, religious, and disinterested priesthood, and frequent and free communication with England, and with themselves, will have a great effect in doing away with this; and a very great assistant will be the keeping their nobility and gentry at home, and improving their property, and spending their money at home. Now, a great means of accomplishing this is by the Lord Lieutenant. The Irish have not the same dislike to the Scotch that they have to the English. They have had the Scotch long residing amongst them in the North of Ireland, and they are now as much natives of Ireland as the most of the people of Ireland, as the greater number are of English origin. The Scots have been in Ireland since the time of Robert Bruce, and they have not interfered and meddled with the rights of the Catholics, and have been an industrious, sober, and quiet race, and have thus acquired their esteem, as well as that of their brethren in Scotland, who had no hand in controlling and tyrannizing over them for so long a period, as their own English ancestors. As the Irish have a general feeling of dislike or suspicion for the English, and as they are not so fond, generally speaking, of a countryman of their own, in the situation of Viceroy, however it may at first soothe their feelings, they do not feel the same kind of respect for him as they do to a stranger as it were, although he were an Englishman. Generally speaking, a stranger, and a man of wealth, commands their respect more than one without it and a native; and one who has wealth and rank, has more of it than one in the same situation, and belonging to their own country; and if his family connections are extensive, so much the more likely are they to obey, and submit, and to respect him.

Confidence of
the Irish to-
wards the
English,
Scotch, and
Irish.

The lower classes of the Irish generally shew great kindness to strangers, and seem very fond in informing them of everything, and even this to the English; but they are a great deal more so to the Scotch.

There is and they have a kind of distrust, or want of respect, to their own Irish nobility, as they are mostly absentees, and they suppose they ought to be in Ireland when they are out of it, and they fancy they think more about themselves and others than their own countrymen; and there thus arises a distrust amongst them towards their own nobility and gentry. One may understand the feeling by saying these are Anglicised Irishmen, and the English not having a half character, as it were, have more of their respect than the Irish nobility, although they are distrusted. The Irish nobility do not appear to be their own kindred and brethren, although they are so, and yet do not assist them. Now, the Irish have not this feeling of distrust towards the Scotch, neither have they any doubtful respect towards them, but, if any thing, have a liking to them. Now, where you wish to make an impression on them, it is better, or as well, that they should have persons over them in whom they should have confidence, and in whom they would trust. Now, as it is still requisite and more necessary than ever to have a Viceroy for Ireland, as the people are becoming educated and enlightened, and more steady and sober, and education will make them less thoughtless, although not less light-hearted and gay, and spirited and generous, but it will only teach them to use and make a proper use of these natural gifts, and set bounds to their extravagant evil and improper use; and they are therefore now requiring their nobility and gentry to stop in Ireland to assist them, and not to absent themselves the whole year round, nor even for four or five months regularly at one time out of the twelve. It is often the stopping away too long at one time that has a worse effect than the being longer away during the year, but dividing the time, or being more frequently away. Being away four months at one time during the year without being at one's estate, is worse than being away six months a-year if it is at different times, as much may go wrong before you get back, and it will not be easily remedied by delay; but if you were there sooner and more frequently, you are there to prevent any thing going wrong; and before it goes farther wrong, you are there to repair it, and if it is destroyed, you are there to replace or get it renewed in time, so that there is no delay, or stoppage, or harm done by it, and nothing is at a stand-still for want of your assistance or advice.

The Irish nobility are therefore more than ever required to assist and encourage the poor, and the trade and manufactures of Ireland, when it might be said all are dawning or opening out with a fair chance of success, if they can be assisted, watched, and helped a little. A Lord-Lieutenant is a great means of keeping the nobility in Ireland under certain favourable circumstances, and he makes a favourable impression on the people generally; and to effect this last as well as first purpose, a Viceroy must be a man who has wealth, and who is of a liberal and generous spirit, and one who has good sense, and has no particularly extreme political opinions, although he may advocate the measures of, or belong to, a party. Still he may do this, and yet have no strong party feeling, or partiality for one side, so as to mask or conceal the true opinions of the opposite side for that of his own side or party. He ought to be a person who looks to measures and the good that is likely to

Distrust to-
wards their
own nobility
and absentees.

General quali-
fications of a
Viceroy.

arise from these, and not to the benefit or *eclat* that is to arise to his own party from their bringing forward or succeeding in these, or who advocates and supports the measure without reference to its being right or wrong, because his party advocates it.

Permanency
of character of
hereditary nobility
and landed proprietors.

A person of moderate and liberal opinions, is one who is most suitable for Ireland; and a person who has some rank is the more likely to be thought of favourably, as it is generally considered to bear the stamp of respectability along with it, from people of rank being generally kept more in the view and held up to the public. They are, therefore, more cautious with regard to their character, and what they do; and especially when it is combined with wealth. They are so brought up and educated that they may uphold perhaps the character and respectability of a long and illustrious race, and to manage the wealth of which they are possessed, and the people who are under them, and also to associate with the other nobility and the learned of the land, as well as their sovereign; and being of a body which are hereditary, they have a status to keep and uphold, which may be said to be more hereditary than it is not; as it is to the final decision of the greatest body of these that all measures regarding the governing of the nation is left to their judgment and final decision, it must follow that they must be as enlightened a body, and that permanently, as any in the land, if not more so than any in the land. Having this hereditary title, and being possessors, generally speaking, of extensive property, and as they are educated for legislating, and as they have more opportunities, and time, and the means of studying the institutions of this and other countries, and of paying attention to the affairs of the nation, and their wealth makes them less interested for themselves, and they think more, and give a truer opinion for the general good, and it is such who ought to be Members of Parliament. Generally speaking, it is the duty as well as for the benefit of their body to keep up their general superior status; and it is for their interest to keep the country in a secure, and permanent, and sound condition; and they are thus a check and protection on all measures and schemes which have the effect of destroying the stability of the nation; and they are therefore a rallying or neutral body or depot, which ought to be depended on to support the institutions and laws of the country and the throne. They are different from the mercantile legislators and merchants generally. They are not a permanent body, and are not therefore held up so much to the view of the country, and are not permanent, nor have they the same impartial opinion as the peers, and wealthy commoners, and landed proprietors ought to have, as they will favour that which will favour themselves, or is favourable to themselves and their particular branch; nor are they prepared by education, nor have they the time and opportunity of examining, knowing, seeing, and feeling what is going on in the country; and are in general not so good judges of what is for the general good of the country. They look more to the particular benefit of the measure; and when they die, their interest and influence in the country may be said to die with them; but that of the peers and landed proprietors, continues and increases, and they are a body which are generally prepared at all

Who ought to
be Members
of Parliament,
and who are
likely to act,
and judge,
and decide
impartially,
and for the
general good.

times to give good and sound judgment, and impartial opinions, which are for the general good, and not the less so, as they and their possessions are scattered throughout the whole kingdom. We do not say that mercantile men should be excluded from Parliament, because the landed proprietor is brought up and better fitted generally to legislate than the merchant. Mercantile men are requisite, and necessary to be in Parliament to bring before the country their particular wants, and the means of improvement, or alterations they may wish, or think beneficial in the mercantile affairs or traffic of the country; but we say that the peer and the landed proprietor is better fitted by education, and the permanent stake he has in the country, and from the interests of the land coming less frequently before Parliament, and that of the mercantile branch almost always, he is thus better fitted to give a more impartial opinion, and a more independent opinion of that which is for the general good, and is not so likely to be swayed by self-interest in the particular measure:—he has a general interest in the welfare of the country.

If you were to bring forward two candidates, one a merchant, and Whether is a one a landed proprietor, whose father possessed the property, and if mercantile the last was a radical, and the first, the merchant, was not a radical, man or a landed proprietor, but approached to radicalism, which do you think you would choose likely to give to be your member, if you were a tory, as being the one to give, by the most education, and an interest in the country, an impartial, and true, and partial decision? an uninterested opinion, and one which would be most for the general good, and not for the particular, or a particular good; which do you think would soonest turn chartist?—which do you think is best prepared to give a general, impartial, and independent, and an opinion which is for the general good of all, or which is best for the country, present and future? From our knowledge and experience of the past, we would say the landed proprietor; and he is also less likely to turn chartist, although he approaches nearer chartism than the merchant. We therefore would have the radical landed proprietor to depend on generally, and at all times, as most likely to give always an impartial opinion, and a sound opinion, and as less likely to turn chartist than the merchant, who is not just so liberal in his opinions, and especially if they are brought before you as a radical landed proprietor, and as a not so radical merchant, from what we know of the character of each of these classes, without knowing any more than what has been stated, we have made our choice.

If a lord lieutenant is wealthy, is a man of rank, and has extensive family connexions, he is less likely to be affected by selfish and party opinions; he is more likely to do that which is for the good of all, and he is more likely to command the good will and esteem, and to be trusted and respected by all, and if he is possessed of plain, unaffected good sense, with a will and a desire to do good to all.

As the Irish made great complaint of the loss that happened to them from taking away their Parliament and many offices, by its making absentees, and taking away the trade from Dublin; however much the Irish might now wish, and they lately wished, a repeal of the Union, and their favourite Parliament back again, what could Ireland do or be if she were to govern herself?—she could not support herself, she could not exist without her connection with

The loss of
the Irish
Parliament.

Great Britain (many of the Irish suppose by a repeal of the Union they would be a distinct and separate power), it has been by Great Britain that she has been chiefly peopled, and it is from her they owe their descent, and it has been to Britain and her money that she owes her gradual improvement. She is at present of no benefit to Britain, and never was any thing but an expense to Great Britain, which is and has been long taxed to bear a share in the burden of supporting and preserving her; and Ireland is, and has been always, less taxed than Great Britain. What benefit would she be to a foreign nation? She would only be an incumbrance to them. They would not be taxed to support her. They might take her as being a convenient source of annoyance to Great Britain, and from whence they could injure her. Last winter if she had not had her British connection she would have been depopulated and destroyed.

The benefits of the Union are not confined to one place, but are spread throughout the whole of Ireland. The Irish only look at Dublin, which no doubt has fallen off, and is not so bustling, from the want of trade and the great influx of the nobility and gentry to attend Parliament, and the expenditure of money consequent on it. Some would wish the Parliament back again, but where there are many different Parliaments in a country, they are very apt to pass measures which are not for the general good, but for the local or particular good; but where members from the different districts, and from the whole country meet, the selfish views which are for private benefit are seen through by those who are not interested in these, but who look only to the general good, and they lay open the imperfections of the measure with clearness and impartiality. Too many parliaments in one country are apt to cause collision and squabbling with one another, and the decisions of one may be opposed to that of the other; and they cause delay, as well as general inconvenience, to the important business of the nation, and are also attended with a great deal of extra expense. Although Ireland had a Parliament of her own, she would not be greatly benefited—it would only benefit one place, and that would be Dublin, and it would only benefit a few individuals.

A Viceroy a means of preventing absenteeism.

A lord lieutenant would to a great extent make up for this, and be a means of preventing absentees, by having a liberal and gay court, and by attracting and keeping in Dublin and in Ireland the nobility and gentry who go to Great Britain, and abroad to get amusement, and to spend and dissipate their incomes, and even to preserve their lives, which are in great danger in the country, and they will not reside there. And in Dublin there is no society of their own rank, or amusement, or pleasure, as there is no encouragement or support for places of amusement; and not getting amusement, and not meeting persons of their own rank, they go abroad and stop away, while if they could get amusement in Dublin, they might do good by spending their money there, and be near to their property, and know what was going on there, and could give the necessary orders, and make the proper improvements, and do good to their peasantry (and it is in winter that they most need assistance), and might by kindness, and good, improve, and soften them, as well as improve and raise in value their property; and they would be likely to check their agents, and hinder them from impos-

ing on, and tyrannizing over their tenantry, and thus raising up ill will against himself and the Government, and all those who wish to live, and to preserve order and quiet.

It is more in the power of the landlord to improve his tenantry The great power of land-
 and peasantry than any other, and this is to be done by being fre- lords to im-
 quently on his property, superintending and overlooking it; and by prove the
 his constantly residing in Ireland, he may greatly improve them by Irish.
 placing amongst the tenantry Scotchmen, who, by their steadiness, industry, and sobriety, will excite them to imitate them—they will be an example to them, and will improve them in agriculture. You may greatly modify and improve them by refining them, by giving them a taste for flowers, and the neat and good cultivation of their gardens, and the ways of rearing the produce, and by your gardener assisting and teaching them, and giving them flowers and plants; and having his cottage near them, it will greatly improve and be an example to them; and by giving them premiums or presents of flower-plants that are rare, or of garden-utensils, &c., it will encourage them, and make them persevere; and by giving and building plain and neat cottages, in good and dry situations, and by giving prizes to those who keep them best, it will greatly improve and incite all to be neat and cleanly; and by giving prizes for dairy-produce, &c., and for pigs and cows, and by a few landlords joining, and by a competition amongst their tenantry and peasantry, it will stimulate the one proprietor's people to strive to beat and keep up with those of another. The having too many people settled down in or near one place, is a great, and one of the greatest of evils,—that is, if there is not work for all, and is a very great hinderance to all improvement. It causes a deficiency and too small wages, and renders all, and keeps all in poverty, and it is impossible to improve them, and give them a refined taste; and the idle are always disturbing, and annoying, and setting a bad example to the others. Private schools are highly useful where the proprietor, or several, can afford to support one. They are great and useful means of instructing, and giving better and more cultivated ideas to children, and of keeping them out of harm's way. It is better for children to pay a little, if it is possible; they and their parents pay more attention, and think more of education when they pay a little, however small. A proprietor may amuse himself by superintending these, and also by setting an example, and improving their farms and grounds by experimenting and shewing the best, cheapest, and most economical plans and means of cultivating the soil; and it is better that they try a new plan, and buy new instruments, as if they do not succeed, they can afford to lose them, but if a tenant finds they do not succeed, he is not able to try others, and thus goes on in the old way. By encouraging and setting the example to your tenants, and giving prizes and premiums of economical instruments to cultivate, and improve the soil, in a quick and economical manner, they will greatly improve their property, their tenantry, their peasantry, and Ireland; and by setting the example yourself, and shewing yourself, and encouraging and taking an interest in what they are doing, Ireland will be more improved by such means than any others; and by being in Dublin, they could run from it to their estates, and when tired of the one could amuse

themselves with the other, and be doing their duty; but this they cannot do while out of Ireland. A viceroy who spends his allowance—which at present is a great deal too small for such a purpose—that is to be the centre, and attraction, and example, and encourager, and promoter of all that is likely to attract and amuse, and to keep in the country absentees and others, by having a gay, festive, and attractive court, and rendering the capital attractive and exciting, and stimulating others to follow the same example, and bringing in the nobility and gentry, and their families, to Dublin; and by patronizing and encouraging all kinds of amusements, it will be a great means of keeping many in Ireland who would not reside there, and those who have properties in Ireland, as well as elsewhere, will be more inclined to take up their abode in Dublin for a time, and visit and superintend their property.

Income of the
Viceroy.

We think the Lord Lieutenant ought to have fifty thousand pounds a-year, and which he ought to spend; and it might be more than saved to the country by keeping the nobility at home, and it would more than arise from the duty on articles consumed by them, and it would also be more than repaid by the saving it would cause to the country, by absentees looking after, and being a means of keeping the peasantry quiet, as well as being a means of improving them, and they would in time require fewer military. A viceroy would require to spend the whole of this sum, as well as more than this. He would not require to go there to save; he would require to go there for the benefit and good of his country; and he might easily spend as much more, as he is accustomed to spend it at any rate in London, or abroad, or elsewhere, and it would be no loss to him, but it would be an honour as well as a service to his country. Now, if he were to do this, and do it liberally, it makes a greater, and leaves a better impression on the Irish, whatever your political opinions may be, than if you had produced or effected a political measure for their benefit. It may only be confined to the capital; but it spreads through the provinces—it goes by the Newspapers, and one tells the other—and some, and many without well knowing what it means, but only hearing of such a general liberality, festivity, and gaiety, and amusement in Dublin, which to many Irishmen is Ireland, and from the concourse of all to Dublin, they receive and retain a favourable impression of the British, as being the cause of this benefit, and they suppose, or see, in it tokens of a desire to improve their condition; and as the people of Dublin are pleased with the viceroy, and the great increase of business and circulation of money, they spread the praises of the government, and are a great means of giving and spreading a favourable impression on all; and the Irish generally and gradually get and retain a favourable idea of the British, and gradually lose, and forget their old dislikes and heart-burnings, of which they had much reason to complain.

A Viceroy
having the
general good
opinion of the
Irish.

By the Lord Lieutenant being a person who at first has their general good-will, they are sooner likely to be favourably affected towards him, and to have a belief in his general good intentions, and that of the English, in any measure that may be done or brought forward for their benefit, and by his giving charities, though not large in amount, yet, when properly distributed, and in places

throughout Ireland where there are causes for it, and which the government ought to allow for that purpose; also for races, agricultural exhibitions, and flower exhibitions, &c. ; it gives and leaves a very good impression, and the kindness is afterwards remembered. The sum originally given to the Lord Lieutenant was fifty thousand pounds, but a wealthy Lord Lieutenant forgot that there were as respectable, if not more so, poor Viceroys, who were likely to follow as well as rich ones; and he thought he would spare the country so much expense, and did not wish to take anything; but we know he got thirty thousand pounds a-year, and the government, afterwards only gave thirty thousand pounds a-year, whether the Lord Lieutenant were rich or poor. It was a bad precedent, as there may be many a good person, and one who is highly qualified for the office, but being poor, he cannot do the good, and make, and leave the favourable impression that is wanted and is so useful.

Where a viceroy has many and extensive connections, he may, by having them, greatly assist in producing a good effect, and by their means may bring, and attract, and keep the nobility in Ireland and Dublin.

We may, for example's sake, give such a person, who does not particularly advocate any extreme party measures, and one who is a Scotch nobleman, and is wealthy, and has extensive family connexions both in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Duke of Sutherland is married on a daughter of the Earl of Carlisle, who, from her situation of Mistress of the Robes to her Majesty, would be so well suited to superintend the festivities at Dublin Castle; her brother is Lord Morpeth, who was a long time Chief Secretary in Ireland, and was generally liked by the Irish; and as disputes are apt to arise between viceroys and chief secretaries, a friend of any viceroy, if he is fitted for the office, might be appointed. The Duke's brother is Lord Francis Egerton, now Lord Ellesmere, who is very well known. One of the Duke's daughters is married on the Duke of Argyll, an ancient Scotch duke, and one whose ancestors are famous in Scotch history. Another daughter is married on Lord Blantyre, a Scotch nobleman; and another is married to the Marquis of Kildare, the son of Ireland's only duke, the Duke of Leinster; such a nobleman might do a great deal of good, and might preserve and keep the Irish from being absentees. There are other noblemen, such as the Duke of Buccleuch, and the Duke of Devonshire, but who has got no wife—a great want to a Lord Lieutenant. There are many more as suitable, such as the Marquis of Breadalbane, &c. We would not advise national distinctions in the same nation to be kept up, but where, in times of trouble, there is a leaning, or partiality, towards certain persons, these should be employed.

There are many who would and do take this elevated station, but they give it up from getting tired of it, or give it up from its being too expensive to keep up the rank, and expenditure that is necessary. There are many who are very suitable for it, but they will not remain; changing frequently destroys the good effects of it, and perhaps one not so able to afford the expenses, or to expend so much as the former, but as good and respectable, loses the hold on the good opinions of the people, as well as the good effects of ^{The Viceroy giving up his appointment too early, an evil.}

from his not spending so much money as his predecessor; and in some respects a wealthy viceroy is an evil to a certain extent, if he remains a short time, and if he gets a hold on the affections of the people, and if he does good, both are lost by a contrary person succeeding him. Such may happen.

We think that at present a viceroy is of great use to Ireland. It has also at present the effect of soothing their feelings, and assisting in keeping down irritation, which might arise by removing the viceroy; and, at any rate, it is more than likely that there will be a head required for Ireland, and when it is at so little cost, in comparison to the great good it has done in soothing and keeping down the angry feelings of the people, there is little chance of its being done away with in a hurry.

Ways of improving Irish education.

Education will be a great means of improving and ameliorating the condition of the Irish, and rendering them less careless, and thoughtless, and it will firm and strengthen the carelessness of their temperament, and make them more provident, more industrious and careful, and will make them less liable to follow and be guided by the opinions of others, without any consideration. It will give them the desire to improve their condition, and they will find it more for their interest to keep quiet, and to preserve order and quiet, and to encourage others to it, as a means of preserving what they have got, and allowing of their getting more afterwards; and they will acquire wants which they will not be able, or wish to do without, and will try to prevent anything from being in the way of their getting these satisfied in a proper, and legal manner.

As to the difficulty of getting a religious education, there will be little difficulty of all getting an elementary education, and in Ireland, where the Roman Catholics and priests are numerous, they will easily get a religious education at a different place. There ought to be evening schools for the grown-up who cannot read, or are imperfectly taught, and, if able to pay, ought to pay a very little, in the evening. If you can manage to give them an elementary education, and cannot get at the same time a religious education, it is better to take it, and get it, than to want; as they may at another time get a religious education or instruction, but they may never have and get the opportunity, or have the time of learning to read, and the other elementary branches; and by not getting these, they may grow up illiterate and ignorant, and a pest and plague to society, and to the government of the country, raising up disturbances, and rioting, and murdering, and causing immense trouble and expense to the country, and doing whatever any popular demagogue or crafty, malignant, illiterate priest may desire and demand them to do.

Roman Catholics.

It is great folly, and doing a very great and irretrievable injury to the whole country and to the nation, in causing and keeping up a separation and distinction between the Catholics and the Protestants—that is, by teaching them at different schools; it is keeping up distinctions which are highly injurious in after life. Youth is the time to break down these ill and hurtful dislikes, estrangements, and prejudices towards one another, which subsist between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Ireland.

It is the best and wisest plan to have them both taught at the

same time, and at one school, and cement and unite them in boyhood, when the feelings and affections are strong, and when the evil passions are not strong, and when they do not know the difference, and if they did, would not be troubled to keep up the separation and distinction of Protestant and Catholic. It would be great wisdom to prevent such a separation, and it is as healing a measure as can be made. Of course, it requires time; therefore it cannot be done too soon, and the affection subsisting between the boys may overcome the dislike and prejudices of the parents towards one another, on account of religious differences, and also in after life this feeling of dislike, and desire of estrangement, towards one another, will not subsist, and there will be even more friendship than there is dislike at present.

Roman Catholics of Ireland are as well off in every respect, and have the same rights, as the Episcopalians, except in the matter of their having endowments; and the Roman Catholics are better off than some Dissenters in Ireland, as they have a government grant to Maynooth. So it would seem that the Roman Catholics as a body enjoy greater and better civil and religious rights and liberty, than immense numbers of Dissenters in England and Scotland, as well as in Ireland. What can the Roman Catholics complain of? They are less taxed in Ireland than they are in Great Britain, and they have no right to complain, and nothing to complain of. All other religions, except that of the endowed Episcopalians, are on the same footing as the Roman Catholics in every respect. They have the same religious and civil liberty, law, and justice, and benefits of all kinds, and are better off than many; and they are not different from all or most of the Dissenters in Great Britain, except in being better off in getting a grant for Maynooth, and having less taxes to pay. What more would they have? If endowments were to be done away with entirely in Ireland, and grants for education and religion to all, what difference would there be in their condition, and in their rights, from their fellow-countrymen in Ireland. They might have the same chance of success with these; and it is only in the endowment of the Episcopalians that they are only and have not equal justice, if they like to call it so.

An improved religious education to the people of Ireland, and to the priests and Roman Catholics, will be a great and valuable means of softening and improving these fierce and malignant passions and crimes, which they commit at the instigation of others and of themselves; and it will strengthen them, and cause them to reflect; and it will shew them what is right and what is wrong, and they will be more easily and sensibly affected by the stings of conscience, and will better understand the evil and sinfulness of what is wrong, and will not be led and swayed by others to commit crime, and it will check that bashfulness which does not permit them to refuse assistance when they would, and when they have a feeling that it is wrong, and when they do not wish to do it.

Railways will be a great means of improving Ireland, by carrying into its farthest and most remote corners, information and intelligence of all kinds, and a knowledge of what is doing and going on around; and it will give them new, and improved, and more liberal ideas, and

will give them the means of improving and making the best of that which may be where they are, whether it is the cultivation of the soil, or whether it is the working or preparing of minerals. Whatever may be the productions or the means of producing, they will get the opportunity easily, cheaply, and expeditiously, of getting it, and of sending what they wish to where it may be requisite to send it; and they will also be a ready means of carrying education and religion to them, as well as a ready means of keeping them from rioting, robbing, and murdering, as the means of repressing, and quickly discovering and seizing such will be easily and quickly sent against them; and railways will be a great and useful means of improvement of all kinds.

In Ireland a good look-out will be requisite on railways, as the Irish will put sticks and stones on the rails, and will break and injure the rails. As railways were got up to the loss of common roads, and as they are a means of putting out of use vehicles and horses, there ought to be a law by which they ought to be obliged to accommodate passengers at the hours appointed at the principal stations, and also at the intermediate stations. At least, if the time is long between any of the trains running, they should send for carriages, and ought to have spare carriages and engines elsewhere than at the principal stations, and are just as well to be there if they are not used. The introduction of manufactures, where labour is so cheap, might be effected very easily and cheaply, and be at the same time able to bear competition with older manufactures on account of labour being cheap—allowing them to make up for the imperfection of the men at first starting. They would be of the greatest benefit in giving employment to the people, and keeping them from starving, and from being idle, and out of harm's way; and they would have a better opportunity of supporting themselves, and bringing up their families, and when they had once got and felt the benefit of such, they would not wish to be otherwise. It has been said there is little security for manufactures, or manufactories, as they very quickly destroy them; this would not happen if they were at first properly situated near towns where they might get workmen, and be near protection. They would be of great benefit to Dublin, and by improving and bettering the condition of these, they might stretch and extend them, and improve all, until Ireland has works and manufactures of her own; and as long as she has a large, idle, and poor population, there is little hopes of her ever being better off; and unless they have the means of support, educational and religious improvement take effect but slowly, and are apt to decay.

Emigration. Emigration is a great and a good way of getting quit of a superabundant population, and is for the good of those who are left, and of those who go away, and this is a good way for government to assist them; and when vessels of war are going out on foreign stations, or cruising, it would be a saving of expense to the country to carry out convicts and emigrants by these, as they are larger, more commodious, and healthy, and there is such plenty of room on their decks for exercise, which is so necessary for those on a sea-voyage, who are not accustomed to the sea, and who are apt to be too closely confined and cooped up in small vessels, as it is apt with

bad provisions, and want of cleanliness, and want of exercise, it is apt to cause, and is the great cause of fever. It might be as well that vessels were so employed when they are doing nothing else, and they could be towed by government steamers until they got clear of the islands, and this would cause no delay and waste of provisions by contrary winds, and would not keep the emigrants too long on board of ship, and would be a saving to the country.

The improvement and cultivation of the soil is a great and useful means of assisting the Irish ; there are immense tracts of fine land yet to be reclaimed in Ireland, and the cultivation and improvement of this may give and keep in employment a great number ; by improving it by drains, and by different manures, it may cause a great increase in its producing powers, and by giving employment it prevents idleness, the great cause of many of the disturbances in Ireland ; from the soil being good, and from the climate being mild, and genial, and early, they have great advantages over many if not most parts of Great Britain. The improvement of the soil.

The planting, and growth, and cultivation of trees, are highly profitable, and useful as a protection and shelter to the land, and to crops, and is a means of keeping cold winds and blasts from affecting and injuring them ; all properties ought to be surrounded with trees, and particularly they ought to be planted in the north if it is not sheltered, and in those quarters from which the most prevalent, and cold, and destructive winds arise ; they thus keep the land, climate, and crops warm, and hasten their ripening, and prevent their destruction ; they are highly profitable to cultivate for sale, and are good substitutes for grain or other crops, and it is supposed that in the course of forty years a crop of trees will bring more money than grain crops during that period, of course including the trouble and expense of cultivating each during that period of time, and they have an advantage over these in being attended with less trouble, and in their not being liable to fail, which crops are by bad seasons of wet, or drought, or cold, or from insects, &c. destroying them ; and if the corn-laws being repealed is likely to do harm, they may be of great use to repay the soil instead of grain, and to diminish the quantity of cultivatable ground. They may be planted on the worst soil, and planted so as to improve the look of the property and shelter the crops, and beauty, and utility, and profit will be combined, and a property, by being beautified, will be increased in value ; and now that railways are so quick, convenient, and cheap, they will be easily transported to all quarters, and by being sawed and cut up, as they may be nearly required, they will save the carriage of the refuse, and will be less expensive for carriage. Those who have much railway-carriage for wood, or anything else, and if near a railway, ought to have carriages of their own with wheels to fit the rail on which the traffic is, and the carriage would exactly suit their purpose, and no delay or inconvenience would arise, and especially if the breadth of rail was of a considerable extent ; and many things, as large boilers and engines could easily be conveyed by rail, but the loss is, that the breadth is not all the same, and it would be difficult to put heavy articles on other carriages ; but where there is no change of line, to a seaport for instance, those who had much work and articles

for which the railways generally have not carriages to convey them, each manufacturer could have carriages made to suit his own article, and there would be no delay, or trouble, or risk, or damage.

By our better knowledge, and attention to the cultivation of trees, and by being grown in the country, and not having sea and land-carriage duties, and other and many expenses on this account, we will supersede the use of much foreign wood, now brought into the country, and will more than be able to compete with it.

Trees as a
protection to
crops.

If trees are only used as a protection to the crops, and to shelter the land, their growth will repay the trouble of their cultivation and the attention paid to them, and the soil on which they grow, and will beautify the property, and the timber will be of a better quality, and they grow quicker and larger, the better and warmer the soil they are planted in. They require as good soil as anything else, and the more attention that is paid to them so much the better will they be, and the drier the soil, the better is the wood, and it is firmer, larger, and more durable, and they also grow the quicker. It is nonsense saying trees will grow anywhere; if you look at them planted on rock, or where there is a deficiency of soil, how stunted and dwarfish they are, and how slow they are of growing, even though not exposed to blasts; or look at them in poor soil. But if you plant them on rich soil, and good and dry soil, however much they are exposed, they grow quick, good, and large and profitably; no doubt, not so quickly as those which are not exposed. For shelter to your lands and crops, you ought to have your whole land intersected and planted with stripes of trees; where it is much exposed, they ought to be wide. Rounds of trees are useful in parks and fields to shelter cattle and sheep in wet or cold weather, and from blasts as well as from the scorching sun. Solitary trees through a field are a great waste and injury to crops, as nothing will grow under them; these rounds beautify the land, but they ought to be fenced, as cattle destroy their growth by rubbing off the bark. They can shelter themselves without going amongst them; and when they are young, as they go to the warm or sheltered side, if the trees are not intended for profit after they are grown, and the bark is hard, they require no fence. The fir tribe of trees is the best for shelter, as they are so bushy, and preserve it during winter, and they grow quicker than hard-wood, and are good shelter for a house, and when close to it they keep the walls dry, and the house warm. They are apt, by being too near all around, to keep the place damp for want of air, but if only placed at a distance generally, and close at the most exposed side, they do good.

Trees to be
protected on
first being
planted.

Trees require a protection on first planting, and also afterwards. For this purpose a thorn hedge is very good, or a furze hedge, which will grow anywhere and quickly, and at no expense, and alder or bourtree bushes at the sides, and mixed with the young trees and willow trees; these are a good shelter on the outsides, and mixed with them, as they are bushy, and grow up in no time, but care must be taken that when mixed, they, or weeds and long grass do not choke up the young plants, and prevent their growth. Fir and larch grow quickly, and realize money quicker than hard-wood trees, and being bushy, ought to be planted on the outsides as a shelter, and as they grow quicker than hardwood trees, and

are always higher than these, although planted at the same time ; they should also be mixed with the others. The bushes and willows ought to be cut down when the trees get as high as they are when they are mixed—at least a few of them; and as you cut down your trees, and especially the sheltering trees, always plant others in their place, and do not cut them all down at one time, and you have a constant shelter for your trees as well as your crops. You ought to drain your plantations as you drain your fields, and this is necessary for them to succeed ; and you must look after your trees, and thin them, and prune them, as they grow better when there are not too many branches. They take up the nourishment of the trunk, but when these are off the nourishment goes to the trunk. But you must not overprune a tree, as the branches and leaves are necessary to carry on the growth of the tree. We may have as profitable and good a crop from trees as we have from grain. Never cut down all your trees at once ; you ought to have always a number growing for shelter.

Fir, pine, or other bushy and quick growing trees, may be transplanted to situations where a young plantation is exposed to strong winds, and the outside trees are liable to be bent and stunted by it, and the inner ones are long of coming to any strength from want of protection ; or firs may be transplanted to shelter a house, or for improving or beautifying a place. Willow trees, or saughs, as they are called in Scotland, soon spring up, and are highly useful on this account, and are therefore a first-rate, easy, and quick protection for young trees exposed to sea-breezes or on hill tops. Ivy ought to be cut off trees, and all creepers, as they in time destroy and kill the trees.

The Irish could also rear and improve cattle, and by breeding and selling these, they might make good profits. They could breed good sheep, and their wool would be of a superior quality, and also for the flesh. They could improve and breed horses of a superior quality—they will always be required ; and from having plenty of pasture land, they could compete with foreign countries, and with Great Britain, from land being cheap, and from having fewer taxes; and they would thus give employment and be a means of wealth, and they would be shewing a good example to others, and would improve and benefit the people, and encourage others to do the same. Their beef could be sent to Great Britain, and might be improved equal to any there.

Lime and limekilns, as a great means of assisting in improving the condition of the people, of improving the land, and for purposes of building. Limekilns ought to be constructed on good and economical principles, and limestone could be found suitable for all purposes, either for the cultivation and improvement of the soil, or for coarse or fine building, or for internal plastering of houses ; or it might be got of a more burning nature for some purposes than others; or it might be got to burn cleanly without refuse ; where there is this it sells for less, and is not so well liked. This sometimes also arises from defective burning, from the bad construction of the kiln, from its not burning equally from the draught not being good, or from the coal being of a bad kind, and not burning it properly, or from their not being in sufficient quantity. By trying different

kinds of limestone in small quantities, you will soon and easily discover the different qualities ; and if you are near a town, you will burn and use, and get stones to suit all the different purposes of lime, either for fine or coarse building, or for such as require it to be adhesive and to last long ; and you will have kilns where it is much used for all these purposes, having them larger or smaller as the quantity is large or small that may be required ; and for agricultural purposes you choose the limestone that is wanted. If it is liked best of a caustic nature, you get and burn that kind of stone. Your property may only contain one kind of limestone, but it will suit for some purpose, if it is not too expensive to prepare it. Those who buy your lime will tell, if you ask them, what they dislike about your lime, and what they wish it to be, or what they get elsewhere, and you can improve it accordingly. Now, this might be a great source of wealth, and is so in an agricultural district, and especially near a town, and where coals can be conveniently got. They ought to be built economically and substantially ; and where you have stones or brick on your ground, or near, and carts and horses of your own, a good mason will soon and cheaply fit them up if he gets a plan of them, as they are very simple ; and by doing this you save the expenses and profit of getting a master-builder.

Coal.

Where there is coal at the present time, working or not, no one ought to sell the coal, or property, unless at a high value, as it is more than probable, from the railways being constructed in all directions, that however valueless the land may be, and however distant from a place of sale, yet by having coal, and there being a railway, it may become a mine of wealth. There are many who know there are coal on such lands, and the proprietors are not aware that there is coal, or of the value of it, or the opportunity of getting it disposed of ; and these persons try to buy the coal, or the lands, cheap, without the proprietors knowing the great source of wealth they contain. Proprietors of coal ought to choose for shipping coal the port nearest to the place of sale.

If a person who has money to spare has coal, he may work it himself ; or if a person can get the coal sold, and if he knows that the amount is large, he ought to allow another to work it, and get a price for it so much a-year, whether working or not, and this should not be too high ; it is a means of the lessee trying to keep the work going, and when working, you ought to have so many tubs of coal that are wrought, and the number will depend on the expense of working the coal, and the sale. It is as safe a way as any, if you are frightened to lose by it, as the expense of working it from water flooding is apt to be great, and there are other circumstances causing expense ; and perhaps you cannot look after it properly yourself. Of course you require a person to keep account of the number of tubs wrought, or you may be cheated, and even he may cheat you by an agreement with the person who has taken the pit ; but this may be prevented by the men and master keeping books, with their wages, and the number of tubs they have wrought. You may even be cheated this way, but it is not easily done, nor to any great extent ; as, if the men's books were altered, one of their neighbours, or their wives, would let it out. The nearer to the sea, or a navigable river, or a town, the more valuable will the coal be.

Brick works are very important and valuable, from bricks being ^{Brick works.} required for building, as well as for making tiles for houses, and spouts for drains, which are now so much required to improve the whole land. By draining we increase the quantity of produce as well as hasten its ripening, by keeping the soil dry, by carrying off the moisture, the source of its being constantly damp and cold; and where it is so universally required, the making of drain-tiles is of great importance, and will give employment to many, as well as cause the safety and increase in the crops, as well as their being of a better quality.

Some farmers have great fears that drains made at present will ^{Proper and} be unserviceable twenty years hence, and will require to be renewed, ^{durable kind} and that this will entail on them great expense; but we know, and ^{of tile for} have seen, drains twenty years old which are as good and service- ^{drains.} able as when first formed, and likely to last other twenty years or more. It is of great importance to the durability and economy of drains that the tile be well burnt and thick; this prevents breaking or wearing, and if the drains should be filled up or stopt by any means, they have only to be opened, and this is all the expense that is or will be incurred—no new tiles being required; and this is of some consequence where drain-tiles have to be conveyed from a great distance. There are numbers who fear, or will not drain, on account of their believing that drains will only last twenty years; but such not being true, landlords or tenants will be less likely to grudge the expense of drains.

Drains for damp houses.—This is a cause of great annoyance and expense, many building their house anew, or selling it for nothing, or going to another. A cheap remedy, and a simple one, is found in sinking a deep well, at the back of the house, if it is on a slope, at say three or four yards from the house, and a deep and broad drain four yards from the back of the house, and bring it round and past the front of the house, about four yards distant from the sides of the house. Again, damp may arise from a spring within the walls of a house, or close to it: sink a deep well close to the house, and a large, deep, and broad drain all round the house, and carry it away from the house, and make a deep drain through the house, and it will prevent damp. All these may be tried at the same time, or singly, for this as well as damp situations. More than one well may be sunk, at different places, if necessary. ^{Remedy for damp houses—surface-damp.}

Many of the lands of Ireland are deeply mortgaged; and it is a ^{Mortgages.} great curse and burden on those who labour under it, and it keeps them constantly down, and is a great cause of the non-improvement of the soil. The government are lending money at low rates of interest to Irish proprietors; but if it is below what is the common rate of interest at present, it is doing an injury to those who have already lent money on property; if they now agree to give it at a rate of interest which is common at present, as they may have lent it for a long time, and as a favour, and as reasonable, if not more so than many. Now, it may happen, if government lends money at a lower rate of interest than is common, on such property and security as they lend it on, they throw out the present lender, do him harm, as he may not be able to get his money lent out at present; but if he

had known sooner, and if proper, and a long enough notice had been given to him, he might, and would, and could have got a far better, if not as good a security and interest for his money; but by the government giving money at a low rate of interest, he loses unfairly by it, and is perhaps without money for a time by it.

Agents.

A proprietor being an absentee, his rascally agent, and man of business, takes advantage of his absence, and when his employer asks for money he can get none, and his agent is obliged to get it on the shortest notice; and he knowing some Jew or money lender, gets it at a high interest, and charges a still higher to his employer, on the security of his property, and this with the knowledge of the money lender, or the money lender, by getting a very high interest, allows him a per centage, or he may lend money of his own at an exorbitant interest, and he says he gets it as a great favour on condition of not revealing the name of the lender, and the proprietor is thus ruined. Or an agent who has the proprietor of a property, in his power, or who is poor and not very scrupulous or dignified, by an agent getting money at a low rate of interest, on a property, or good personal security, and for the proprietor allowing him to do this, he gives him a share of the high interest, for which he again lends out the money which he got at a low rate of interest.

A person whose property is deeply mortgaged might easily get rid of them, if he would go steadily, and perseveringly, and methodically to work; if he had a surplus to any extent yearly above paying the interest of mortgages, and all other expenses, he ought to live less extravagantly, and save, and pay off the mortgages, for which he pays the highest interest; and after paying off this, he pays off the next highest, and so on gradually; or if he can get money at a lower rate of interest, he takes up the high mortgages. If they will not take the same interest he can get money elsewhere; but if they are very Jewish he had better get rid of them, and get it where they are not so Jewish, as they may, when you cannot get money at a low interest, take advantage of this, and compel you to raise the interest. After the highest, you take the next highest, and so on, with all those where your agreement allows of their being taken up. An unscrupulous agent may insert conditions in deeds which are binding, and which you may know nothing about, but to which you sign your name, and you forget, but that you may have agreed to them. It is as well, before you apply to your man of business to reduce your interest, that you have, or can get, a substitute, as he may very likely give up, or take up the money, or charge you a higher rate of interest, if you can get no other.

Exorbitant
charges of
agents.

When you get the interest reduced, it makes a great difference on a large sum, and saves you much money; a difference of two per cent. on L.10,000 makes a saving of L.200 a-year. Now, on a very large sum, such a saving would greatly assist to pay off a debt, and would relieve you of six or eight per cent. more of interest, and this would make a great difference.

Where an agent's charges are too exorbitant, by applying at a court of law, if they are found and proved to be so, you will generally get redress; and if he raises money, and charges an exorbitant interest, without your being exactly aware of it, agents and fac-

tors are very apt to join with those whom they employ to do work, or to transact business, or to give you loans, to charge more than is proper, or at which it might be got, and to take and get a share of the profits. But in a court of law, any dispute about these matters, the law will only allow the reasonable and common price of work at the time it was done; and in the same way, interest on monies, got without your consent, but which the agent might say were necessary to be got, the court will only allow a little more if it does that, than the interest on money which is common and general throughout the country, from and up to the time; and if an agent or factor has property, of course that will pay for any overcharges in any shape. In Ireland, agents are very apt to abuse the authority that is vested in them, and they are very apt to take a gratuity to allow a tenant to get a lease of a farm, and they thus do a great deal of harm by putting in a bad tenant.

Farms ought only to be let to good, and substantial, and industrious farmers. Who to let
If they have wealth they are sure to pay your rent your farms to. and improve your farm. It is better to take a moderate rent from such, than to let your farm to a person who will offer you a higher rent, and which at any rate is too high; he does it to get the farm; but if it is not too high, if he is a poor person, he is always behind in his rent, and in every thing else, and he does not improve and do justice to the land, but takes all out of it that he can, and does not put any thing into it, and is always behind in his rent, and will as frequently not pay it as pay it, and he is a constant plague; but he is more so if he offers a higher rent than the land is worth, which it is more common to pay or offer for it at the present day than it is not, as they will do any thing to get a farm; and in bad years when the harvest is bad, they will pay no rent, and thus although he offers you a high yearly rent, by not paying it, at the end of the lease you would have been almost better to have taken less than half the rent from a good wealthy farmer, as he pays the rent in good and bad years, and leaves and keeps the ground in good condition.

A liberal landlord allows a good tenant, although wealthy, and if there have been many bad seasons, a certain deduction from his rent.

It is a great error in landlords taking high rents from poor farmers. High rents.
They are far better to take a smaller rent from a wealthy farmer, as he pays it regularly and improves the ground, and keeps it in good condition.

Long leases are necessary for the farmer and the landlord. It is not in human nature for farmers and landlords always to agree. Leases.
It is not in human nature for all tenants to be strictly honest, more especially where they cannot make any thing by a farm. In good years you may say to a tenant, I will let you this farm for a year if you put in so much manure, and if you will follow the rotation I lay down to you; but there is a chance that if the land is in good condition when the farmer gets it, there is little doubt that he will not exactly follow the conditions of the agreement, and that he will try to save something, and will thus impoverish the land; but if you give it for a long lease, you may lay down certain conditions, and more especially towards the close of the lease, for its being in

the same good condition as when he got it; but at any other time of the lease the tenant does not need to be watched or directed particularly to follow a certain cultivation and outlay on the ground, as he finds it for his interest to improve it as much as it is possible to do, to reap the full benefit which it is considered it will yield; but in short leases you are plagued watching, and the one is striving to get as much out of the soil as possible, and to put in as little as it is possible; and the landlord he is trying to get as much put in as possible, and the soil kept in good condition; but the soil is gradually deteriorated one way and another by these short leases. It is causing too frequent an impoverishment of the soil, and it is impossible where the tenant is poor, and the season is bad, to get rents and to keep the soil in condition, and the tenant, by a short lease, has not the chance of good years to make up for the bad ones, as there is frequently a run of bad, and a run of good years. There can be no doubt that, on the whole, long leases are best for all parties, and for the soil. There are always risks to be run in short leases. Where a rent is cheap, and where there is a relationship subsisting, as it were, between the farmer and landlord, from being old tenants, such were likely to work and agree well on a short lease before the repeal of the corn-laws.

You must make your conditions in your lease as you please (no use trying to regulate or compel it by law—it will be evaded; landlords will not let their farms on any conditions but that of their own making), and they ought to be such as to allow of fair play to the farmer, and they ought to be in accordance with the present state of agriculture. In leases we would never allow a tenant the right to sublet his farm for a higher rent than that for which he at present pays for it; nor would we allow him to sublet it, unless the person to whom he was to sublet it had a certain amount of capital, as might be fixed on, as he might sublet it to a poor and worthless tenant.

Poor-laws.

The poor-laws are certainly a great burden to a people where the poor are numerous, and they cannot fail to be so in a large and extensive manufacturing country, where trade is so fluctuating and is attended with frequent stoppage and depression, or in an over-peopled or unemployed country, and in times of famine and disease. There is a great necessity for the rich, and those who are able, supporting those who, when they were employed, were a means of making them wealthy, and without whom they perhaps could not have got their wealth, as it could not be got without their labour, and they may require them again; and it is the duty, and for the interest of all, to assist the poor, as a means of repressing robbery, rioting, and crime, as it would be necessary for them to do it as a means of supporting life. It is no easy matter to suppress the passions and feelings, and to remain moral and upright with an empty belly, and one which is likely to continue so; the gnawings of hunger are only to be felt to be known, and are to be felt and kept in that state to try the uprightness of all in the time of want and trouble. There are few, whoever they may be, and in whatever station of life they are, and however holy, or well principled, or conscientious they may be, who will and would not steal a piece of bread with the poorest, and most ignorant, and wretched who was in the

same state of starvation, where there is willingness to work, and where they have been used to work, but where there is no work to be had it cannot be called a crime to steal; it is more than in the nature of man to withstand it. There is no doubt certain laws must be laid down to punish those who would steal when they do not require to do it, and this is necessary for the protection of all; but still, in case of necessity, it ought to be visited with punishment or treated as crime, the same as those who did not require to do it; but they ought to be put in the way of providing themselves with the means of getting bread, by working for it, as their punishment.

Poor-laws are required to prevent greater evils and losses hap- Necessity of
pening, than the money that is required to be given for that purpose, Poor-laws to
as they prevent robbery or crime, murder, incendiarism, and rioting, prevent great-
and breaking of machinery, and all other sources of wealth; so it is er evils.
a saving in respect of its preventing the loss of these. It is a means
of preventing the country being depopulated, and stopping its works
and manufactures, the great source of wealth and of your being
able to pay the poor-laws, and it also allows of your living in com-
fort and enjoying your wealth; it is a great means of preventing
death and starvation; it is a great means of preventing death to
yourself and to them, from its supplying them with that great, and
it might be said, only means, except heat, and fresh and pure air, Poor-laws a
and cleanliness, of preventing disease generally, and particularly great means
low and malignant and contagious fever or typhus. It is from the of preventing
want of proper, and sufficient, and nourishing food, that there is so disease and
much disease amongst the poor. It is not disease they are ill from, fever.
it is exhaustion from the want of nourishment, and when they get
this it invigorates and strengthens them more than medicine; but
the want of food, or its deficiency, does not take effect on the system,
and produce disease so soon when the weather is moderately warm,
and it takes effect sooner when it is very cold than when it is not,
and it sooner causes disease of a worse, and more aggravated kind,
when there is exposure to wet and cold; it is then that it generally
takes on the malignant, and low, and weak form of disease called
typhus fever, or contagious fever, and when there is great want of
ventilation it takes effect still sooner, and still sooner in those who
are not cleanly in their habits; where the body is all washed and
kept clean, where there is good ventilation and fresh air, if you get
a certain small portion of food, it is long before disease in the shape
of fever seizes you, without its being caught by contagion; but
where these are wanting it lays hold on its victims with quick and
rapid strides.

By not having poor-laws, and supporting the poor, the contagion
is apt to reach yourself and family, and cut you off; and if it does
not, you are generally obliged at last to subscribe, and support in-
firmaries and charitable institutions for their relief; and from all
circumstances, it is perhaps a saving, and it is a great means of pre-
venting other ills, if you use this means, namely, the poor-laws, of
stopping crime and disease, and saving your purses.

We would therefore strongly advise the public to support baths, Baths a source
public baths, at a cheap rate, as a great and useful means of pre- of general
venting disease, and keeping the body in a clean, and in a healthy, good.

and cheerful, and light state. They ought not to be got up in an expensive style, and the charge ought to be no more than to pay the expenses of the institution, and to keep it in repair. There may be baths in it better and more elegantly fitted up for the wealthy at a higher price, and this may assist the institution. A bath at least once a-week would be a great means of preserving the health ; and having a good general and moral effect, it causes an exhilaration, and gives one a freshness and pleasure more than when one has not been cleaned, and it enlivens the spirits, and keeps the body in a healthy condition, by cleaning the pores, and allowing free and healthy perspiration to go on, and it stimulates the vessels of the skin, and strengthens the general system. Baths ought to be given to the poor for nothing, by Orders ; and subscribers ought, by subscribing a certain sum, to be able to give an order to so many a-week at half-price.

Wash-houses. Wash-houses, for getting clothes washed at as cheap a rate as possible, and in some cases for nothing, or for the doing of it ; and by having clean linen, it keeps the body clean, and the pores clean, and allows the body to perspire freely, and does not adhere to the skin ; it has a pleasant feeling, and has a good moral effect, and gives one a feeling of pleasure and self-respect more than when one is dirty. Subscribers to a certain amount ought to be allowed to give either half-price or gratis orders, according to their subscriptions. There ought to be annual subscribers. Bleaching-greens, and places for drying clothes to the public, free of expense, is another great source of health and moral improvement. If towns have them not, the inhabitants ought to subscribe for this purpose.

Parks. Parks ought to be got up by the people, or substitutes for parks, as a great source of health, exercise, amusement, and for getting and inhaling fresh and pure air, and as a great means of enlivening, and keeping out of harm's way, and improving the people.

Soup-kitchens Soup-kitchens, as one of the greatest and the principal means, one of the best and one of the cheapest, and one of the best and surest means of providing for the poor, and preventing starvation, sickness, and disease, ought to be had and kept in constant operation ; and soup only ought to be given to those who are most healthy, and able, to a certain extent, to support themselves, and also bread ; and to those who are sick or sickly, soup, meat, and bread ; and to those who can pay a little for it, soup ought to be sold at a moderate price, so much as will pay for the expense of it ; there are many who would take it on this condition during the winter, and in cold weather, and every day, who have nothing comfortable and warm to take, and would pay for it, and would buy it, as they have no means of getting it elsewhere ; there are others who take whisky to keep them warm ; it would thus have a good moral effect, and do great good to many on this account, and be a means of preventing intemperance ; and it is nourishing, and is of a good quality from such a source, and it would strengthen them, and keep them warm and comfortable, and would be a great means of preventing disease, and preventing them from getting ill, and becoming a burden on the poor's rates, and inmates of hospitals, and a burden and expense ; and it would be done at no expense.

Such soup-kitchens ought to be kept going all the year round, to a certain extent, as they are always strengthening those who use them. If they use it in autumn, they are more able to bear the wants and hardships of winter; but if they only get it when they want, or stand in need of it, in winter, it is too late, and has not the full benefit on them, and effect of preventing disease, as when they were strong when disease and want were likely to come on them. The sick ought to get soup free, and the best and most tender parts of the meat; and subscribers ought to be allowed to give tickets, either free or half free, according to circumstances.

We consider soup-kitchens as one of the best and greatest means of preserving health, and preventing disease, as the want of food is the origin and the great source of disease (in the drunkard it is the want of food to a certain extent, as if a drunkard were to take his meat, drink and disease would not take effect on him so soon.) It is the want of food in scarce seasons that causes disease, and we cannot wonder at it, as it is the great source of keeping up and renewing the losses of the body which are constantly going on, and which is so constructed that we must supply, feed, and nourish ourselves, to make up for this constant eating up and absorbing of ourselves. By having soup-kitchens on permanent and fixed principles, so as not to depend on chance charities, disease might be much, if not altogether, prevented amongst the poor, amongst whom it arises from want of food alone, and we would be saved the great expense of supporting the poor, and having a heavy poor's-tax imposed upon us. Health and its preservation.

Houses of refuge for the poor at night is another, and important means of preventing disease, and crime, and is of great benefit to the poor and houseless. A house for this purpose might be cheaply constructed in one or two parts of a large town, and beds or straw mattresses might be got cheap, and laid down on a dry floor at a certain early hour in the evening, and they could have a coarse covering, and by having the place well heated, it would save bed-clothes, as well as dry their clothes if wet, and keep the inmates warm and comfortable. Of course it would not be a shelter for all who wished it, or as often as they wished it, but it would do for the houseless at times, or strange poor, and at night they might get soup and bread, and in the morning porridge, or the same before they went away, and if they were poor and hungry they would be very thankful of this, and it would do them much good. The beds need not be fine; they might almost do with boards, as it would prevent the lazy and idle from taking advantage of it, and none but those who absolutely stood in need of it would get the assistance. Good warm soup and bread in a wet or cold night, with an empty stomach, and a warm house and shelter, and porridge, or soup and bread, in the morning before they left, would be a great comfort, and a very great means of preserving health.

When the body is in a strong and healthy state, and when it is fully nourished, it is less apt to be affected by contagion than when it is sickly, weakly, and ill-nourished; and nourishment is a great means of making the body resist contagion. Nourishment prevents contagion. Those who are well nourished, but who are fasting, are more liable and likely to be affected by contagion than those who are not fasting.

Fresh and
pure air pre-
vents conta-
gion.

When the body is vigorous by fresh and pure air, it is also less apt to be affected by contagion, but nourishment without exercise and fresh air is not a preventive for or against contagion, as without them the body is never healthy and vigorous. Cleanliness and washing the body with cold water is a very great, and good means of preventing the body being affected by contagion. It invigorates, and gives tone, and elasticity to the skin. Where the skin is relaxed and weak, a person is likelier to be affected by contagion. Sponging the body is within the reach of all.

Where there are open spaces, and pleasure grounds in and about towns, and more especially in the heart or centre of towns, they ought, on no account whatever, to be encroached on, whatever may be the improvement, or benefit that may be said will be effected by such an encroachment or improvement, as the benefit resulting from such open spaces to the health of the inhabitants exceeds any inconvenience, both as healthy places for recreation, and as places from whence constant supplies of fresh air are always had, and which are so requisite to prevent fever and disease, and to take away the bad effects of the bad, and unhealthy atmosphere of close, and crowded cities. If once encroached upon, it is impossible again to supply this more than valuable want and necessity for preserving health and life to all. It is a fatal destruction, simply and easily effected like every other evil, but which is not, and which you will never be able to remedy, do what you will either by love or money. Therefore preserve such a great blessing, although attended with much inconvenience to traffic and commerce, as without health and fresh air traffic and commerce cannot flourish, and what is the use and value of profit, wealth, and gain, in comparison to health. (We may remark that railways are very apt to cause this destruction, and that for a little inconvenience, but if such is very great, they, in some cases, might get a small space for a few passengers, merely rail-room and no more, and have a principal station outside for goods, which take up so much room, and also for passengers; and if there are many passengers, having little room at the town station, and it taking so short a time to go to the out or principal station, they might make two or three trips to the inner and outer stations.) (Some imagine that the Government favours a particular line or person in its purchases of all kinds, but for the mail it chooses the quickest and cheapest line, and principally the most expeditious; for goods, and clothing, and provisions, it looks to quality as well as cheapness.)

Heat pre-
serves the
health.

Moderate heat and dryness is a great means of preventing sickness and disease. Where there is cold and wet, and where the body is much exposed to it, and where there is want of nourishment, it is a very great and powerful assistant in causing disease. We would recommend subscriptions of coal to the poor as a means of preventing disease, and keeping them in comfort, by getting their clothes dried when wet, and not keeping them on in that state, which is highly injurious, or putting them on in that state in the morning; and by making their home comfortable, they are less likely to go elsewhere and get drink, or to take drink in their own house to warm them, and which answers the purpose of nourishment also; and a fire allows them to make and prepare something

warm and comfortable; whatever kind of food it may be, it is better than none, or when it is cold. It is the duty of all to prevent such immoral effects, as a means of preventing them from being a burden on the poor-laws. (Drunkards are generally the first to be affected and to take on contagion, as their body is in such a state that it cannot resist contagion.)

Warmth and warm clothing are highly useful in preventing disease, and in making those who wear it comfortable. Long-continued cold has a very debilitating and weakening effect on the system, and warm clothing prevents it, and also the great evil of taking drink to keep them warm.

There is some difficulty in giving clothing and blankets, as they are very apt to sell them, or pawn or pledge them for money, but this might be prevented by having the articles all variously marked, and so marked as not to allow of the marks being erased, and by not giving them the power to give them away, or sell them, or pledge them, you would keep the power and right of seizing the articles, or any other person, if they were where they should not be, and no one, in that case, would buy, or give money on them.

Widening streets where and when it is possible to be done, more especially not allowing streets to be made narrow, would be of great use in preventing disease, and having fresh air; and if it were possible, if every street had an open piece of ground with grass, and shrubs, and trees in it, it would be a great improvement, in having a large and constant supply of fresh air. A law could be passed having all streets of a certain breadth, and as much broader as they pleased, and that they also should have a spare piece of ground about the centre of the street, or all along it in large towns. (If the plan of the great architect and builder of St Paul's of London—which is not the full and original plan, but a mere sketch in comparison to the original plan and design of that great architect, as money was wanting to carry it out to the extent and magnificence, and in the style and taste he wished it—if his plan had been carried out for rebuilding London after the great fire, it would have had wide and healthy streets, and been a splendid and magnificent city, instead of its being crowded and huddled irregularly together.) The widening of streets ought to be attended to as much as possible in crowded and unhealthy districts; and when streets are narrow, and the people poor, all noxious and tainted substances ought to be removed, and the streets ought to be kept properly cleaned, and that daily, and proper sewers, to allow of the running and carrying away of filth, ought to be constructed in such a way as to allow of its being easily done, as well as of their not being easily stopped, or impeded, or choked up, and to allow of its being easily discovered and remedied. Great care should be taken to have closes properly cleaned and swept, and all works whose vapours, or the substances which they manufacture, and the refuse, are injurious to health, ought to be placed out of the town, or such means taken as to prevent their bad effects. The refuse of slaughter-houses, &c., ought to be removed out of these daily, and the place properly swept and washed with abundant and copious streams of water, and if such is done, there is no chance of their proving unhealthy or injurious, as well as causing

a great expense for towns to remove them, and it is almost impossible to do so ; but they can prevent future evils by preventing the building of new ones in the town, and by the cleaning of the old ones in the town.

Tan-yards are said to be injurious to health, but the lime and bark which they use prevent the putrifying and decaying of the animal substances ; but there is some refuse, and that ought to be removed. The workmen are said to be a healthy race of men.

Sewers and
malaria
grounds.

Sewers ought to be led where their contents are most easily carried off, viz., into the sea, or large streams whose waters are drinkable or not (if they are not absolutely required). They must be carried into these, else they will cause worse evils than the want of water for food, &c. In some cases, the contents of sewers are used to manure land, and the water or contents of sewers are spread over land for manure, and in some cases the evaporation causes disease ; but when near the sea-shore, the sea breezes prevent its bad effects, and in a cold climate the evaporation is not so great, and the evils are not at all, or less ; and where trees are planted between these grounds and the town, it also prevents its evil effects, and when the ground is distant from the town, little or no harm results, and where the sewers or drains on the ground are large, the moisture only remains a short time on the surface, and there is little evaporation. Towns, where this is injurious, may stop it by covering up the sewers or changing their direction ; but they are bound, if a proprietor wishes it, to cover and enclose the drains ; and a proprietor is bound to allow sewers to be made through his grounds for the health of towns, if the towns pay all expenses. But frequently such watered lands are near towns, and if they are losers by losing the contents of the sewers, they may make country residences or villas on their grounds, and feu it, and this will cover in some measure any loss that is likely to arise by losing the sewer contents. Whatever nuisances a town or government may put a stop to, they must pay for any loss that may arise to the proprietors of these by their stoppage, if they have been going on for a certain number of years with profit ; because if they did not do so, others might set a-going works injurious to health in order to get money on account of their being put down ; but unless they remunerate proprietors for any loss, they have no right to stop them. Marshy and mossy lands and fens, or lakes of pure water, where not of large extent, are not what we may call unhealthy, more especially in temperate climates, although all damp places are to a certain extent. In the Papal States, in crossing a marshy portion of it, fever seizes on those passing it ; population, as it increases, will gradually from the borders of this once good land but now marsh, make drains or rivulets, broad and deep, to dry it and improve it, or the Government will do it from the borders to save the health of those employed, and do it also in the winter when evaporation is not great, and therefore not so prejudicial to health ; and it will then be made into grazing, farm, and corn-fields, and be a source of health to the nation, and a place for its superabundant population. Care must be taken to prevent the drains or any rivulets from being choked up and stopped, as in such a case, the grounds will again be flooded, and remain marshy, and the water will

have no outlets, and it was by some river formerly changing its course by being stopped up, that was the first cause of it. The Papal States, although a rich territory, would not at present be able to pay for draining this fertile territory; but it is the nature of things, that as population advances, they improve and remove all nuisances when they are really required. We may notice Egypt, Holland, and St Petersburg, where no particular evil results from moisture. Many suppose if any thing has a bad smell that it is unhealthy; but it does not follow that is so. Those having a fine perfume may be unhealthy if inhaled too much, and so may those not having a good smell; but the health of those employed at or near them will shew. We may mention assafoetida, which has a very strong disagreeable smell, more than most substances, and smells the clothes for days; where it is grown, those who gather it, eat and chew it. We may instance garlic and its Spanish associations. Water, when it has a strong taste, is considered to be bad and unhealthy, but this is not always the case, as there are many waters tainted with mineral impregnations, and few waters are entirely pure; but we may only mention the impure and filthy water of the Thames, containing all the vilest impurities of London in excessive quantities, and it is from this that London porter is made, and drunk by all, and in every part of the globe, and also recommended as a medicine. We do not say such is altogether healthy, but their effects are not so bad as some who are always meddling and trying to find fault would say. Where there is really injury and harm, inhabitants themselves, magistrates, the law-officers of the country, and the Government, and the Legislature of the country, town, district, and neighbourhood, will look after and redress them themselves, if there is any grievance; and if they think there is not, and if there is, they will be to blame themselves if it is not removed. Every town, district, neighbourhood, country, family, and individual, each is the best judge and redresser of their own particular wants. The French know their own private matters better than the English, and so on; and one private family can manage their own affairs better than another family can manage them for them, although the management were equally the same: in the same way individuals, and also individuals of one nation over that of another.

In large towns where there are public necessities, they ought to be frequently and regularly cleaned out, and they ought to be numerous and spread throughout all towns, and in all parts of a town, rich or poor, whether the district of the town be so or not, in places not conspicuous, but so conspicuous that all and strangers may get them; it is requisite in large towns—it is a great want. In some large towns they have them, but in some parts of the same town for miles you cannot get one; it is what is absolutely required, however respectable or fashionable the quarter may be in which it is not; and although the inhabitants might object, yet it might be placed beside stables, as there are always stables near respectable parts of towns to place them, and it would not be offensive, or hurt the delicacy of any one. They are requisite for the inhabitants who are doing business, and out of doors, and not near their own houses, and also for strangers. By cleaning them frequently by the scavengers who

Public wants.

sweep the streets, and who are always at hand, they will cause no expense or trouble, and also using plenty of water and chloride of lime for this and other purposes; putrefaction and the strong odour is prevented.

There is nothing like having plenty of water; it is a great saving of expense, and is of great importance for the preservation of health; it enters into every thing connected with the preservation of health; and we cannot move a step in preventing ill health without having this constantly beside us in purity, and in abundance. It is of great use and importance to clean away refuse, and tainted and unhealthy substances, and odours, and this when they cannot be removed any other way, or when it is inconvenient, or expensive to remove them in any other way.

Infirmaries for disease, &c., and as a means of preventing its farther increase.

Infirmaries and hospitals for fever, disease, sickness, and injuries are absolutely requisite, and are highly beneficial, as a means of separating those who have fever from the district they are in, and preventing the farther spread of fever in the district from contact and close neighbourhood, and from its being contagious, and because, when they are in an infirmary, they are better attended to, and are less expensive, and are sooner cured, and the public are quicker in getting rid of this fearful calamity. Now, as they are for the good of all, and as a means of preventing the farther spread, and the increased expense consequent on this, and their being less easily and quickly cured elsewhere; and as they are a great means of preventing the rich from catching fever from its being contagious, and seizing them, by coming in contact with those who have it, or their friends or children who may have it, or who are only becoming ill, and from the clothes of those who have been beside them, and this happening in passing them in the streets, it is for the benefit and safety of all to assist infirmaries, and hospitals, and soup-kitchens, before anything else, even before religion, as there is little chance of a person, if he is starving and cold, attending to religion or its duties; or, if he is sick, you must first prepare him to be able to listen to it, and get the benefit of religion or education, by putting them in a state to be able to attend to it.

Building expensive hospitals, money better employed otherwise.

We wonder at them building so grand and expensive hospitals for education, &c., either by subscription, or by money bequeathed for that purpose, when the money is more required for many of the above purposes. We are surprised at individuals not rather bequeathing money for soup-kitchens and night-asylums, and for fever hospitals and infirmaries, as first and absolutely necessary objects of charity, than to build large hospitals for educational purposes; for unless these primary objects of charity are first attended to, religion and education cannot go on, and it is therefore the duty of all to attend to these first; it is impossible to attempt to make people cleanly unless you appease their hunger, and it is impossible to make them attend to, and listen to, and get the benefit of education and religion so long as their attention is distracted, repressed by pain and disease, and the gnawings of hunger; the intellect may be said to be weakened in such a case, and unfit to understand or be benefited by education and religion.

The first and foremost duty of charity may be said to be that for ^{First duties of} assisting the helpless sick ; next, that for preventing sickness, namely, ^{Charity.} soup-kitchens, and such like objects, to nourish and keep from starving, and becoming sick, the poor ; and then they ought to bequeathe for educational and religious purposes. It is the duty of the State to support infirmaries and hospitals when they are required, and especially in large towns, and in manufacturing districts ; and we think, if the inhabitants will not support them as a means of putting down and checking disease, and in preserving the general health, they and the country ought to be taxed for that purpose, as all are benefited. The benefit is not confined to the place where the infirmary may be, but all come and take, and get the advantage of it, far and near ; and the sailor who may be in a harbour near it, also gets the advantage of it, although a native of the southernmost or northernmost quarter of the globe, or of the kingdom, or of the country ; and it is the same with all, whatever may be their rank, occupation, or country.

There is no doubt, it would be as well if hospitals got a grant of ^{Grants to} public money now and then, and especially during the prevalence of ^{hospitals.} much disease,—it is for the good of all, and for the benefit of the country. We scarcely ever hear of such a thing, it is really astonishing, when it is so much required, and so useful and necessary, and when there is so little chance of its being mis-spent or misapplied. There is no doubt, if hospitals had a permanent regular fund of their own, to serve for years of an unusual amount of disease, it would be better ; and if there should be an extra amount of disease at any time, if private subscription could not relieve it, it is the duty of Government and the whole country to provide for this increas, as all are liable.

In a country where the government or the sovereign is not arbitrary, it is scarcely possible to form laws, and to compel these laws to ^{Little chance} be carried out for the general health ; it cannot be done without tax- ^{of making} ing the people to a very considerable extent, and you could not easily ^{efficient laws} tax the people of Great Britain for such purposes, on account of the ^{for the gene-} people themselves opposing such taxes, as they and the country are ^{ral health as} already too much burdened with taxes. If laws are made, and which ^{this country} are carried into operation without expense, they are very apt in a ^{at present is.} healthy season, or in the course of time, to be forgotten, and to be evaded, or forgotten in times of sickness, until it is past the mildness of the sickness, and the bustle and hurry making them forgetful.

It is scarcely necessary to make new laws, as many of these, ex- ^{Laws already} cept making all new streets of a certain width, and as much wider as ^{in existence} it may please those who make them, or to whom the property be- ^{sufficient.} longs. Most, if not all corporations have the power and authority if they wish to use it, to tax the inhabitants for all necessary expenses and improvements, and of enforcing regulations for keeping the town and the streets clean, and keeping the town clear of all nuisances ; and these regulations are generally made public every now and then, and penalties for non-obedience are inflicted ; but these regulations are apt to be forgotten by all. A law might be made, binding corporations of towns, by a penalty or fine, to preserve the cleanliness of towns, and they have the power of fining the inhabitants for not attending to all such regulations, for cleanliness and

health : they are very zealous when any one starts the subject for a short time, but as the newness goes off, they soon let such matters take their own chance ; but if you were to fine them, they would constantly remember and enforce it.

As to water, baths, and soup-kitchens, we do not know how they can make laws to get up, and keep up these ; they must have bequeathed, or permanent funds, or be left to the charity of the benevolent or humane, and in large manufacturing towns, by grants, in years of scarcity from the government, or it might assist in erecting and fitting up such places as are required, or it might set the example of their having a permanent fund, by giving so much, if the people subscribed, and gave so much more as is sufficient for their general use and benefit, and in years of scarcity, the government might also give them assistance, as a means of preserving the general health, and is one of the first and greatest means for that purpose. If we had funds, or few taxes, it would be easily enough effected, but as the country at present is, it is quite impossible to do it fully, and effectually, so far as the general health of towns is concerned. The magistrates having already the power of cleaning, lighting, and removing all nuisances from the town, what more legislation is required ? Take the primary sources of health, their want is the primary cause of disease. If you have funds, you might give them to support a few infirmaries throughout the country, they are for the general good ; next, you might allow in large towns, with, or without manufactures, a sum for soup-kitchens, as they are for the general benefit, and especially hospitals for fever, the country could not complain. We would bind the grant, by also getting private subscriptions, to a certain amount. It does not do to pay everything for the people, as they would do now-a-days ; but they might in this case, as they are objects which are absolutely required, and are not to be left to the chance charity, convenience, or good-will, or inclination of private individuals to support them ; they are objects which are to be attended to before education and religion.

Poors' houses.

The poor-laws are a great expense and burden to the country, but by supporting the above measures for the general health, so much assistance to the poor will not be required. Poors' houses ought to be plain, substantial, and comfortable buildings ; and their internal furnishing and fitting up ought to be plain and simple, and they, as well as hospitals, ought to be placed in open, dry, warm, healthy, and cheerful situations, with a good piece of ground attached to them, to raise vegetables, and to employ and exercise the inmates. A piece of ground, cheerfully and warmly situated, and little exposed, is of great benefit to such patients recovering from their illness, and invigorates and strengthens them wonderfully ; the whole ought to be got up without any ornament, and at the least expense possible, consistent with their healthiness and durability. The poor can be kept at less expense, and in a fuller state of health and comfort in these, than they can by giving them a half more of the money, to keep them out of doors, that keeps them in the workhouse. In the workhouse one fire in a room will serve a dozen or more, but out of doors the fire of course is less, but it only serves one, and in the same way every thing else. You can keep a dozen of

people cheaper together, than you can a dozen separately, or that they can keep themselves at separately. In workhouses they can buy everything cheaper, and better than a single person can. By giving out money, it is apt to be misapplied, and used to get drink, or other improper purposes, and it therefore does not answer the end for which the money was collected.

The inmates of workhouses are always healthier, and better, and more comfortable than the out-of-door poor, although they cost more, as what they get does not give them a large enough fire, nor a comfortable enough house, nor a sufficient quantity of food, nor sufficient clothing. In the workhouse they are warm enough, well enough fed, and well enough clad, and each costs a great deal less than the out-of-door poor.

We suspect, in some of the workhouses in England, the poor are too highly fed; they may complain, and do complain of their feeding, because the English labourer feeds higher than any labourer in Europe or elsewhere, except in the United States and some of the Colonies; they eat far more than is requisite to supply the wants of nature, or the common feelings of man, and they therefore complain of the fare they get in the workhouse, and particularly in regard to quantity, more than to quality. The quantity is not large, but by the quality there is more than sufficient nourishment to support life in a good condition. You must give them quantity to supply the feeling that they have got plenty, and there must be in this quantity as much nourishment, as a whole, as there is in that of quality, but of small quantity. Food of this nature may be given, and can be palatable at the same time.

The fare of the English workhouses is far superior to that of those in Scotland; a great saving might be made in this respect, by giving them soup made with vegetables in it, and strengthened by boiling beef in it. Now there is much nourishment left in the water in which beef has been boiled; many could, and would be glad to live on this water, which is full of the nourishment of the meat; and if the meat were boiled long enough, all its nourishment would be extracted and left in the water, and if the water were mixed with vegetables, and properly seasoned with salt and pepper, there are thousands of industrious and hard-working people who would thankfully live, and be healthy on this soup, without any animal food; and they have besides bread and potatoes, and it is a very comfortable diet in a cold day; and in summer, when cool, it is refreshing, and allays thirst; it is grateful and agreeable to the taste; it is nourishing, and has quantity and quality, but not overmuch, but quite sufficient of this last to answer all useful ends; they have milk, or small beer in its place, and porridge, &c.

Now, if the English got this soup, it would fill them. They complain of not being filled. They have been accustomed to fill themselves to distention with animal food. They do not think that they have got enough until they feel this distention, and they eat three or four times what is necessary for them. Now, by giving them soup to fill them, it would satisfy this feeling or craving, and it is highly nourishing; and they would get a small portion of meat, and this would be a saving amongst some thousands. Onlylook

to thousands of labourers in Scotland who never taste butcher-meat for weeks together ; and it may be they get a small bit once a-week ; and we do not see why they should not thrive in a workhouse on less animal food, and by getting a small portion daily, and a great part of its nourishment in their soup ; and by being mixed with plenty of all kinds of vegetables, it adds still more to its agreeableness, and very much to its healthiness. There can be no mistake what vegetables to use. Plant those which are in perfection in the summer, and those which grow and keep in the winter, as carrots, turnips, cabbages, and greens of all kinds ; pease, beans, potatoes, and barley, and dry pease and beans and leeks.

The females complain of the want of tea. We think this luxury might be given to all once a-week, until it is cheaper. It might be given on Sunday evening—it would cost so little to go over the whole of them. The Scotch in their workhouses thrive amazingly. If the situation is healthy, they have quite a different look ; they look so well, and are so healthy ; to go into the workhouse they may be said to get a new lease of their life.

We need scarcely remark on the barbarity of separating man and wife. There is no necessity for it.

Sources of the great expense of supporting the poor.

The great source of expenditure, and a very injurious one, is that of assisting to help, or make up wages. If they have not sufficient work, or if wages are too low, they ought to get work given to them if possible, and pay them for it ; but as many are apt to make an improper use of this money paid to them, as well as of their own, and do not use it for the purpose of supporting their family, but drink with it, or mis-spend it, or do not spend it economically, they ought to get provisions given to them instead of money, and ought to be supplied with food at the workhouse to take home and feed their families, and there would be a certainty of their families getting meat ; and they ought to be compelled to give up their wages before getting extra assistance from the poor-law, and they ought to be laid out in getting food at the workhouse for them at the cost of the workhouse, or price it cost them for the provisions, and by knowing the number to be fed, they would get no more than was necessary ; and if they required more than their wages would purchase, they would get it in the shape of provisions, and it would be certain that they would not be starving, and that they were proper objects of charity, and that the money was not mis-spent ; and a very great and important saving might be made by this, and many would rather make what they had do, than be obliged to give up their wages and not spend them as they pleased. It is necessary that they get full value for their money, and that no mistake is made.

Give no money-wages to the poor.

No money should be given ; all wages, if they say they are not sufficient, ought to be given up, and provisions given them for it ; and if they require more, it ought to be given in provisions, so much for each in a family, the same as workhouse fare—better than starving ; and if they are unwilling to work, or go and get work, it will be a means of preventing them from not wishing to work ; and if they have no wages to give, they ought to get work at the poor-house, or get employment in improving the district, or gentlemen's property, at lower wages. Gentlemen ought to keep their work

until winter, if there is no scarcity of work in the summer season, and they would get it done cheaper, as well as do good to the poor.

There are many other ways in which the expenditure of the poor may be diminished, if properly looked after. If it were first examined as a part, or a part as an example, and not as a whole, you will get by this means a better idea of the whole, which will not look and appear such an enormous difficulty. It is by looking and examining it as a whole that makes it look intricate; but by many small savings you make a large.

Temperance has done and been the cause of doing more good and benefit to Ireland than any thing else that we know of. It just came in the exact time it was required. It might have caused good at any time, but it came at present when they could understand its good effects, and when the improvements that had, and were taking place, and were necessary, required the powerful and assistant aid of temperance to further and to assist them, and without it they never could nor can go on.

Temperance was the first cause of giving anything like quietness to the Irish, and giving them a desire for improvement, and to better themselves. It was, and is, a great cause of checking the great exhilaration or stimulation of their animal spirits, which are so greatly excited by ardent spirits, when they are already too excitable. But since the introduction of temperance amongst them, some seven or eight years ago, by that good and simple-minded man, Father Matthew, they have become a better, and a more improved, and improveable people. Father Matthew, who is plain, simple, and unaffected in his manners, and in his address, and does not pretend to have any superior powers of any kind over the lowest of his fellow-creatures, but trusts to the great goodness and the benefit of the cause which he advocates; but there is little doubt, that many of his followers have a great belief in his superior powers. They even believe that he is endowed with powers more than earthly, but he has frequently and publicly denied before them, that he had any pretensions to such powers. He has been the greatest public benefactor, and the greatest cause of improving, and bettering the condition of the Irish, than any one, since the origin of Ireland. He has done more to quiet and render Ireland improveable, than all the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, or all the legislators, either for or against Ireland. There is no doubt that Mr O'Connel was a great and powerful means of Ireland getting many of her civil and religious rights. It was through his leadership and advocacy of their rights that they got them; but it was by his inciting the Irish to discontent, after there was no more to be gained, or when they had equal justice with the rest of the land. That is a fault in his character. He seems to have disliked the idea of being forgotten by the Irish, if he went into retirement; and he wished, and loved the excitement, and the applause of the people, and the multitude whom he had led, and guided, and benefited so long. It was this dislike of being forgotten by them, that made him advocate the Repeal of the Union; it was to keep himself in their remembrance, and to continue the object of their admiration. Few can doubt, that a man of Mr O'Connel's talents clearly knew the

Temperance
and Father
Matthew.

impossibility of a repeal of the Union; if we say he did not, we take away from him a great part of his acuteness, learning, and talent; it might be that he only affected it, in order to frighten the British Legislature. There can be little doubt that such was the case, and to keep himself in the notice of his countrymen; he had more than any man the power of improving his countrymen.

The Irish at one time an intemperate people.

At one time, the Irish were a very dissipated, and intemperate race, and this might arise from almost all having small stills, and manufacturing whisky for themselves, and it was this plenty of it that kept up their dissipated habits.

So long as the Irish were an intemperate people, they never would improve, and were always under the power of those who wished to do harm. By means of their being intoxicated, the priests possessed a power over them when intoxicated; the effect of intoxication on the Irish, is to render them very exciteable, and even mad; and it makes them ready to do anything and everything; and when they have it they must be doing something; and when they are in that state, it cannot be expected that they will do much good, and by being an intemperate people, they kept the nation in a constant state of rioting and fighting. They fought both at church and fair, on Sunday and Saturday, at burial, and at birth, and at marriage: it was constant drinking and fighting; but through the influence of Father Matthew, they have in general become a sober people, and are better dressed, and better clad than they used to be. At one time in Dublin, not so long ago, they might be seen fighting and drinking in the day-time on the quays, and these porters or heavers there, were amongst the most dissipated in Ireland, and now not one of them is seen drunk or to fight.

At their fairs they were notorious for drinking and fighting; and all have heard of Donnybrook, not so often now as a dozen of years ago; it was, before that time, more famous and notorious for fighting than any other fair in all Ireland, but now it is scarcely a fair—at present there is no fighting or drinking seen at it, and this was effected by the temperance movement of Father Matthew, who deserves great honour and benefit from the great good he has done to Ireland, and, by this means, to Great Britain.

Father Matthew ought to be rewarded by a public subscription, which will realize an annual interest that will keep him, and allow him to carry on his temperance mission, and a sum or sums ought to be given him to buy medals, and give them gratis to those who cannot afford to pay for them.

Expense incurred by Father Matthew in carrying out his temperance scheme.

He has done a great benefit to mankind, in being the instrument in affecting such a great alteration in the habits of a people, and for a people, and he ought to be remunerated for the great expense which he incurred in purchasing medals and giving them to those who were not able to pay for them—those who were able to buy them did it. These medals are of use in keeping them in constant remembrance of the pledge they have taken to be temperate; it reminds them of Father Matthew, whom all esteem, respect, and admire so much; and it brings to their recollection the occasion of their meeting Father Matthew, with thousands of their fellow-countrymen, and kneeling together and receiving his blessing, and taking the pledge and vow never to take intoxicating liquors, and

also the impressive and simple discourses delivered by him ; the remembrance of all these circumstances reminds them of it, and impresses them with the desire to keep it, and the means of doing this, is the medal which they received from Father Matthew ; and from his expenses in travelling about, and the expense incurred by giving so many of these away without their being paid for, and at his own expense, and from other expenses consequent on his prosecuting his temperance mission, he has incurred a debt. Now we think a private subscription ought to be got up to allow him to continue, and persevere in his great, and good endeavours, as it requires to be kept and brought constantly to mind ; and by being long impressed on them for a generation, it will naturally take effect on the next generation, who will not know what intemperance is, and they will not be likely to fall into its snares or allurements. A private subscription will keep up the appearance of independence, and carrying on his mission for the good alone, and not from interested motives, or as the hired servant of any government ; and it will have a better impression on the people, while a grant from the government has an appearance of being less disinterested, but there can be no doubt it is better that he should get the means of prosecuting the temperance movement from the Crown, after the great good he has done to the nation, and especially from the loss he has sustained in his endeavours to benefit the nation, and as by his means the nation has been, and is saved much trouble and expense.

We doubt much if the Irish will be swayed and influenced for good by any other who may succeed Father Matthew ; and it would be as well if his duties as a Roman Catholic bishop would permit him, while he is yet vigorous, to carry on, and keep up the good which he has already done, as it is in danger of gradually falling to the ground to a great extent ; if it could take, and keep a hold of the people for a score of years, it might then be left to itself to a certain extent, but at present it requires to be constantly kept up as a great and a good object, and beneficial to all ; and by the Irish acquiring new, and improved wants and tastes, and getting more refined, and being more accustomed to small luxuries and comforts at home, they will gradually lose the desire for stimulants, and will work, and be industrious to get these luxuries, which they do not feel inclined to want after they have once got used to them ; and by now seeing their children better educated, and fed, and clad, they will not spend their money on drink, but will try to save it ; and we hope that Father Matthew will still persevere in doing good, and in preserving, and increasing the great good which he has already done : it is a cause which has effected more for the Irish becoming a regenerated people than anything else ; and to Father Matthew alone is the whole, and sole credit of it due.

On the whole, the Irish have the advantage of having equal rights in all respects with the other inhabitants of Great Britain, and have the benefit of being taxed to a smaller amount than they are ; and if they like to improve their country, and to make use of the means which are within their reach, and within their power, they have greater, and better means of becoming wealthy and comfortable than the inhabitants of Great Britain. The Roman Catholics have

Father Matthew's power not likely to be transferred to any other.

Equal rights of the Irish with other parts of the kingdom.

no more cause of complaint than the other dissenters in Great Britain and Ireland; and the only cause of complaint over any others, is there being endowments given to the Church of England; but if they do away with endowments, the Roman Catholics must give up theirs, and they will be worse off than ever. But we hope that the children of Roman Catholics and Protestants, being educated together, will cause a friendship between them, and will make them work well together, for the general good of the country, when they are grown up, and there will not be any heart-burnings, or animosities, or want of confidence, or separation between them on account of differences of religion. We believe that much of it arises from a jealous, illiterate, ignorant, and interested, and selfish priesthood, who suppose they will lose their influence by their flocks associating with Protestants, but we have no doubt that education will also improve these, and there will then be no distrust between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Ireland, by manufacturing, may become a large shipping country, either in the east coast, or from the west and south, as there she is not delayed by adverse winds, and can get her vessels quickly to sea, and she has an advantage over many parts of Great Britain in this respect, and over the Clyde, as she is nearer to America, and may get an extensive trade with America, and the West Indies. She could bring the produce of these places to Ireland, and carry the Glasgow goods in steamers, and arrive there quicker than by sailing direct; it would suit light goods, but they might carry on manufactures with greater advantage than at Glasgow, as they are so much nearer to America, and can get to sea so easily; and if she had the wealth and capital of Glasgow, in the Shannon, or Cork, or Waterford, there is little doubt she would beat Glasgow. She has great opportunities of becoming naval, from the great opportunity of rearing a naval force from her extensive fisheries, if they were improved and encouraged by government, as an assistance to the Irish. She might have whale vessels, and she has plenty of salmon, and oysters, and all other kinds of fish: and she might build fine vessels, she is conveniently situated to get foreign timber. On the whole Ireland has more advantages of being wealthy than Great Britain.

Great capabilities as a manufacturing and shipping country.

Grants to universities.

Many are anxious that the universities had grants from government. We wish they had permanent endowments, as the country at present is not able to give grants regularly, and differences of religious opinion prevent the government from being allowed to give regular grants. Unless the grants are given regularly to pay professors, a regular yearly sum, more than to give grants, now and then for different purposes, it is only a small benefit; but as professors are those from whom constant and permanent good, and education come, and are dispensed to others, the first thing in a university is to provide and encourage good teachers, and unless encouragement of a pecuniary kind is given, no one will teach, but will turn his attention to something else. You may say if he is a good professor, he will attract students, but this is an absurdity; but there are scarce years of students as well as everything else, and universities and places for finishing education are increasing, and no one will take a chair, and apply himself to the study of that par-

ticular department unless encouraged, as he must live, and have something to lay past. A professor ought to have L.500 a-year, as the price of living at present is, and it is enough to keep him, but not more than enough, and he will desire more, and will try to increase it by making his lectures useful and attractive to get students, whose fees may be reduced to encourage learning. But to prevent the professor from living beyond his means, a house proportioned to this L.500 a-year ought to be given to him in a healthy situation; and if he does not live in it, he ought not to get the rent of it.

There has been some complaints of Ireland getting yearly grants of money for her charitable institutions, while Scotland gets almost none; Ireland being a poorer portion of the empire, and not being in such an advanced and wealthy state, we must assist it more than the other portions, until it is on a level with these; and when it is, it must be treated as the other parts of the empire. Some portions of the empire do not require assistance, but as the revenues will not afford it, we must do it to the most necessitous, as a means of helping them on, and requiring less afterwards, as well as preventing its being required.

There are many other countries in Europe which bear a strong resemblance to Ireland, from the natives being alike in many respects, and from their being equally unruly, and consequently frequently misused and unfortunate. We may instance a country which has been similarly situated as Ireland for years, but it is a country which, at an early period, was in a high, and cultivated, and flourishing state, when the rest of Europe was in a state of barbarism, and this was when the Moors had possession of Spain; and they, in the time of Ferdinand, when Spain was united into one kingdom by the marriage of Isabella with Ferdinand, when, by means of her gaining America, and its vast wealth by the discovery of that continent by Columbus, and it added greatly to her wealth and power, and especially to her naval and commercial employments—great sources of a nation's wealth; but America, this great source of wealth, especially of the precious metals, was a great cause of her being in a more backward state than the other kingdoms of Europe, as she forgot and neglected to cultivate the great resources which she had within herself, and which were of a more useful and permanent nature, and which were necessary to be cultivated to make them keep up with the rest of Europe, in the march of cultivation and improvement, and also as a means of protecting her from the other powers, by not using and having in readiness her resources at home, and thus strengthening and improving herself there, and by so doing, keeping up her internal strength on an equal, if not more equal footing, if she had wished it, with the rest of Europe, as she might have done, by improving Spain, and managing and drawing the great resources of her colonies. But for her colonies she forgot Spain, and its internal resources, the development of which is the first duty and safeguard of a nation; and she did not even manage her colonies well, as the wealth she derived was that of the precious metals alone; and it was the improvement of that, and the means of getting it, which she strove to cultivate; but being easily obtained, she did not develop, and execute, and stimulate her energies in obtaining it, and which,

by being constantly developed, would have made her always ready to look after, and improve her other resources; but depending on this wealth, she did not cultivate that which was more useful, and likely to be lasting. Spain is a country which has been famous for its mineral wealth since the time of the Romans, and is so at the present day; she has in her bosom all or most of the precious metals, and she is a country which is famous for her wines, and for growing grain, and for oil, and for all kinds of fruits; she has a variety of climate; her hills give and afford a temperate climate, and her southern provinces approach to the tropical, but are less scorching, and are tempered by their proximity to the sea, and she can grow every thing, and can supply herself with everything, and that at present, in sufficient quantity, for the wants of her inhabitants, and she has a large, and very favourably situated extent of sea-coast, by which she can easily communicate with almost the whole of Spain, and by which she can keep up a powerful naval force, without force or artificial means, as the extent of her coast gives rise to her having sailors for her own wants; and if she had retained any of her colonies, she would have been still better able to support, and keep up, and exercise, and maintain a naval force; but she has let these slip through her hands; but as she yet is, she might be a powerful kingdom, and might have as great an influence in the counsels, common to many of the other European powers, in regulating, so far as they can, the affairs of Europe, as their single and selfish interests will allow of their doing; for as soon as any thing suits a single power contrary to the general interests, then that power deviates from, and breaks through the general rule, to suit its own end; and the more powerful and less able of being checked, the more likely are they to do it, and the less likely are the others to oppose it. So it seems something like a hoax to try to preserve the balance of power by words and speeches. Spain may be greatly and powerfully improved; she has a brave and high-spirited population, but not a steady or firm one, but one which ought to have been so, and to have learnt union of feeling, and interest, and wisdom, from experience and misfortune; for she has felt nothing else since the French Revolution, and during a great part of it, she seems to have been in a constant state of change for the worse, and of warfare; and when she was at rest, it was no rest or benefit to her, but it was misrule without any endeavour to improve her; and she has been like Ireland in this respect, as well as in the similarity of her inhabitants in their thoughtlessness and carelessness.

SPAIN.

It has been said by some that the Irish originally came from the East, but we know that numbers of Spaniards in the time of Queen Elizabeth, who came over with the Spanish Armada, were driven on the coast of Ireland, and many of her inhabitants have the Spanish feature and characteristics; but of course we cannot say from this, although they bear a resemblance to the Spaniards, that they are all of Spanish origin. It is more than probable that Ireland was first peopled from the island of Great Britain, and they from the continent of Europe, at a very early period, and in course of time have been mixed up with different races of men during this long period; and if we follow the history of the island from the

time of the Romans, we will see what variety of different people have come to the island from all nations of Europe, from the Norwegians, or Norsemen, to the Spaniards.

Both have been greatly injured by a bigoted, and tyrannical, and superstitious priesthood. So far both have a great resemblance. The repressing lately in Spain the great power of the priesthood, and the suppression of nunneries, are measures highly useful, although it was done by chance, and more for greed than any thing else, although they had the excuse of the great opposition they got from them by their assisting Don Carlos so much in the civil war in Spain.

Both countries are highly improvable. Spain is a country which Spain an im- may be said to be independent of all others in every respect. She provable is a country which can grow large quantities of grain, and fruits of country. all kinds; and she can, and does rear large and immense flocks of sheep, which she can use for food; but from the nature of their climate, they do not use and do not require so much animal food, and live principally on the fruits of the soil.

Their sheep are famous for their wool, and which excels all others. They are now bred in all climates which are not moist, as this alters the wool to a coarser kind, as it is one of the wise provisions of nature for these animals, as well as others, to have their wool or covering assimilated to the climate where they may be. In the very hot countries the wool becomes hair, as nature does not require so hot a covering; and in cold regions the light and fine and downy wool becomes thick and strong. These sheep become and are sources of great wealth to the possessors of them, and to the country where they are; and they are numerous, and occupy extensive tracts of the highlands. There is an old law, and like many old laws and customs by being kept up, it is attended with much inconvenience: there are laws peculiar to these sheep by which they have the right to pass through and feed on lands which do not belong to them, when they are going to their pasture-ground. Such a law is highly injurious, and puts a stop to improvement. It is much complained of. All such old and unfair and abusive laws such as this, ought to be done away with. They might be suitable enough with the state of the country at the time they were made, but are not so now.

They have mineral and metallic wealth in great abundance, and have famous mines of mercury and silver. They can grow any thing and every thing with their climate, and they have a brave and high-spirited nation and people; but many, from the long state of disturbance, and constant state of warfare for fifty years, have become so unsettled, fighting, predatory, and restless in their habits and in their nature, and have lost all habits of steadiness and hard-working industry, that, until their children are educated and employed, and until there is peace and quiet in the land, they will not improve and be able to take advantage of the great capabilities, and sources of wealth of their country. She might be a great manufacturing country; and if she manufactured for no one else but herself, it would employ and improve her people, and enrich them and give them habits of industry, if it were nothing else than the preparing and manufacturing of her own wool into cloth, and the

many and various light and heavy fabrics and articles of dress which are required, and into which it is capable of being manufactured. It could enter into a part of a fabric, or the fabric could be made wholly of it; and from the fineness and delicacy of the wool, it could be made into all articles of dress suitable for a warm climate, as they may be made any thinness and any lightness, and can be dyed any colour, and with any fineness of tint and shade, and by having beautiful, chaste, and elegant designs and patterns on them of all descriptions, they cannot fail to be suitable to all, and for all purposes and tastes. It might be made to look as well, if not better, than silk; and from the first rearing of the sheep, to the last and finest finish of the cloth, to its being an article of dress ready to be put on, it would be a source of wealth to vast numbers, and would give employment to multitudes. She could have many, and various other manufactures; and she could rear the silk-worm, and this would be a light, and useful occupation, and one suitable to the climate. The rearing of these, and the preparing of the silk, and the manufacturing of it, would enrich many, and would employ numbers usefully and beneficially. She is famous for her wines and for her fruits, which, by scientific modes of preparation and cultivation, she could improve and increase in quantity as well as quality, which would increase the sale, as well as give more employment, and bring in more wealth.

Government of Spain setting an example to the nation by manufacturing.

Monopolies, and the duties of a Government with monopolies.

Her Government has large and various sources of permanent revenue at their command, and if properly and carefully improved and managed, and looked after in its various departments, it would allow of a good, and wise, and powerful government doing much good, and shewing a good example to all, in all objects of usefulness and improvement. It could set an example of starting manufactures as a pattern and model to all, and for the benefit of all; and by being situated throughout the kingdom in places most suitable, and most convenient for their being carried on, and where they would be most beneficial, they might greatly stimulate others to follow their good example, and they would benefit the Government; and if they lost by it, yet if it set an example, and was followed by others with benefit, it would fully answer the purpose, and would more than enrich the nation or Government from any loss, and it would enrich and give employment to the nation; but as soon as the people have fairly set agoing manufactures of any kind, or works of any kind for themselves, it is the duty of all governments not to monopolize the trade to themselves; but if they will continue to manufacture, it is their duty, as a wise and parental government, and if they wish to improve and benefit themselves and subjects by manufactures and trade generally, that they allow their subjects as well as themselves an equal, and the same right, and advantages in trading and manufacturing. No government ought to monopolize any branch of trade. It may compete on equal terms with its subjects, but it ought not to undersell, or outbid its subjects in the market. If it cannot go on without doing this, it ought to leave the trade, and give its subjects the whole chance. A government may reasonably, and fairly manufacture, and prepare all articles for its own use, if it can do it cheaper than it can buy them, as it is for the benefit of the whole nation, as it

saves money by requiring less taxation. But if it cannot make an article cheaper, it is the duty of a government to give the country the benefit of making it, especially if trade is not plentiful, and where it is most required. Spain has great advantages from her situation, of manufacturing and trading with the many eastern nations, and with Africa, and in the Mediterranean ; but in Africa, France has great advantages over her from having a permanent settlement in Algiers, which might be a *dépôt*. This colony is not so useful to France as it might be to Great Britain, as she requires a country like Algiers near at hand to grow supplies of corn, wines, and fruits ; our other possessions are too distant. At one time we had a settlement opposite to Gibraltar, and it would be highly useful, for the reason above stated, to have it again, as well as for the purposes of traffic. Algiers has been of no use as yet to France, but has been a source of great expense. It is, however, of use in keeping up the attention and amusing the French, who constantly require some object of attraction to keep them employed, and from doing harm, at least so far as regards Paris, and it is Paris that has been the cause of all disturbances in France, and Paris may be said to be France, as it directs and is an example to the rest of France ; but we doubt much if she will be able to mislead and govern France for the future for evil, as she is now mastered, and likely to be kept under control by her chain of fortresses, a more powerful means than anything else of checking her, and even of preventing her being taken possession of by an enemy, as a number of different powerful fortresses are better than one large one if the troops are faithful, as so long as one remains uncaptured, a foe is never said to be in possession of the place, and it takes a longer time to take a number than one, and this causes delay and time to get assistance. And when there are more than one, when one is taken, they are places for the besieged to retreat to, and not to be captured, and their services are not lost, as if they were captured. If there were a scarcity of soldiers, their loss would be much felt, and Paris might be taken and kept possession of by any one. By there being so many and separate, it is a long and tedious business to take them, and besides they require fewer men to keep and defend them than a single fortress like Paris, and by being many and near one another, the soldiers of the one are prevented from turning traitors by the others, and are not likely to communicate their treason by their being separated.

The climate of Algiers, bearing a strong resemblance in many respects to that of the south of France, the French, if they were a colonizing people, would easily, and readily fit themselves to the climate, and by being so near France, they could assist France, or be a refuge to the French in time of need, and it may also be a place for her extra population. But as a source of wealth we do not suppose France has any use for it, as she can easily grow all the productions of Algiers in her own climate. No doubt, if she requires a superabundance, it is conveniently situated for that purpose, but until she gets the power over the natives, it will only be a loss to her ; her people are not of that firmness to keep possession and retain it, as they soon tire of it if it is difficult and constantly to be defended. The only way is not to try to defend too much,

ALGIERES AND
THE FRENCH.

Paris and its
fortresses, and
their advantages.

Advantage to
France.

but to defend well that which you have, and gradually drive back, bit by bit, the natives, and keep firm possession of that which you have gained, and by treating the inhabitants well and justly, and with impartiality, and forming alliance with some, and using the natives of the country to mix with your own soldiers, and using them in the particular mode of fighting of the country, there is no doubt a powerful nation will cause the submission of a barbarous nation or tribes. Keep a faithful and allied tribe between you and your colony, and treat them well, and when they become traitors, if you have always used them fairly, punish them well, and then use them well, and with strict honour and justice, and you will keep them in obedience.

Regencies.

Regencies are, and require to be, different in their construction in different countries, according to the advanced state of their institutions and government, and according as they are despotic and arbitrary, or liberal, that is, where the mass of the people give law to the country.

In Great Britain a single person is sufficient for a regency, as a king in Great Britain has no great part in directing the affairs of the nation, but is the head, who, as it were, directs and appoints the government, or administration which the people point out to him, and also certifies the laws or measures carried out at the desire of the people; therefore a regency in Great Britain requires only a single person, advised and assisted in the way that a king of Great Britain is advised and assisted. He requires no particular council peculiar to a regency.

In France the government is not so liberal as in this country, but it may be said to be almost bordering on it, and the king may scarcely now be said to have the sole appointment at will of an administration, but under the present reign a regency-council might be appointed; but where the council does not agree, it is hurtful to the interests of the nation, and the government being in a certain measure appointed by the people, the regency and government ought to be, as nearly as possible, in the same state as if a king ruled.

In despotic countries great risk and harm are likely to arise from entrusting the whole power to a single regent, as he may, and is most likely to use it for his own advantage, and to make the best of the time allotted to prosper himself and his friends, although at the expense of the country he rules and governs, and he may do great injury to the nation from his misrule, from which it may take a long time to recover. A regent or president, it may be, with a council to advise and direct him in such a case, is the best means of preventing such misrule and ill consequences from happening.

France and a Regency.

The king of the French, to prevent disturbances in France after his death, with regard to a contested succession and the peace of Europe, ought to appoint a regency during his lifetime, and ought to resign and be one of the regency. By doing this the people are accustomed to the regency, and the new state of things while he is alive, and are not so likely to disturb it, from being accustomed to it, at his death, (and he would gradually give up his place in the regency, or openly transact or direct public business; but being alive, and all knowing it, they would not think about another succession;) and as it is a respect for the present sovereign that keeps

them quiet, and they would, when he dies, and when there was a change, likely alter the succession to the old family, as they had not the affection for his grandson that they had for him, but out of respect for him they would permit his grandson to reign in his lifetime, and at his death; being accustomed to his reigning, they would feel no inclination, or think about altering or changing the branch of succession.

A nation may have within itself the elements of discord and desire of change, but these are prevented from breaking out by the virtues, power, authority, fear, or talents of one; but if this one were to die, or leave, or resign his supremacy, from whatever cause, and by which he prevented the elements of discord from breaking out, and by which he kept order, and quiet, and prosperity, yet being gone and not being present to guide, and to quiet these discordant elements, another, although his son, from a want of power, or from a want of the people's respect towards him, is not able to keep these turbulent elements, and discordant spirits at rest; but it may be, if he were seated in power on a throne, before the departure or death of his father, that the people, either from respect for his father, or from fear of his father's superior talents, power, influence, or authority, would get and be accustomed to the power of the son, or the son would, from the experience and lessons derived from his father, be able to govern and to command respect or fear after the death or departure of the father; he having been as it were previously out of sight, yet in their presence, they would grant more willingly to the son the virtues, or power, or authority of the father, and would consider it from custom, and from habit a power which belonged solely to himself, and which did not arise from, or belong to another. It is for this reason, that where a people are discontented, and likely to break out into disorder after a king, or ruler's death, who has kept them quiet from respect or fear of himself, he ought to strengthen and firm his successor, by resigning his authority to him while he is yet able to guide, and give him the benefit of his respect, power, talents, authority, or fear; and more especially is it necessary where the heir is a minor, and where a regent requires to be appointed. In the case of the king of France, we see the consequences that have arisen to Europe (and which no one can even guess how it is to end) by allowing, and not preventing when it could have been done, the power of altering the constitution, and giving to the people and to the mob the power of electing and de-throning a king or governor, and of appointing and changing the government, and the constitution of a country whenever they take such a whim or fancy into their heads. No country can ever go on well in this way. We fear that those who were able to prevent this, and who alone were to lose by it, have heedlessly, wilfully, and from private pique, and from motives of selfish, and present gain, and subserviency, but to their future loss, have assisted greatly to bring about, and give this power to the mob, the rabble, and the illiterate, uninformed, and ignorant educated, and those who have nothing to lose by their actions good or bad, but have much to gain; but we fear a disrespect and want of affection, and a distrust of the upper ranks, the monarchy, and the rulers of the nation, have arisen from open corruption, venality, and immorality in administering

FRANCE,
REVOLUTION,
GREAT
BRITAIN, &c.

Succession to
make it
stable.

The wealthy
and upper
ranks not sup-
porting them-
selves.

for the public good in many ways; those who by education, and wealth, and rank, who ought to have set, and shewn a better example, have set anything but a good example to an ignorant, illiterate, and hungry rabble, to be followed and improved on; and if the upper ranks, the wealthy, and those in power, and those who are educated do not, and who have not, set an example of morality, justice, and uprightness, and without a regard for their own future, and the general good, how is it to be expected that the mob, the poor and wretched, and without education, principle, or an idea of right and wrong; universal suffragists, and who are the great bulk and majority of the nation, will forget the example that has been set them, and the injury that has been done to them; is it to be expected that they will be respecters of the property or rights of the wealthy, and the upper ranks, or subservient legislators, rulers, and members of Parliament, who have shewn them so bad an example. We fear that those who could have prevented the mob and rabble from becoming the rulers, legislators, and administrators of right and justice to the nation, viz., the wealthy and educated, have given way to the hurtful desires, and pernicious wishes of the populace, to get power or place in a ministry, or to get a seat, or to keep a seat in Parliament, or to gain, or to preserve popularity, although at the expense, and to the great danger, and depreciation of property of all kinds, of right, justice, and the country, and their own future benefit. Yes, the evil day might have been long kept off, but universal suffrage is, and will be, we fear the ruin of Britain's greatness, power, and prosperity, as it will put in the hands of a mass of uneducated, and ignorant educated, who have nothing to lose but something to gain, the power of legislating, and directing the government of Great Britain through the members of Parliament, or the convention whom they elect, and who, to get a seat in Parliament, will vote as their electors wish them. All know whether the illiterate, and the ignorant educated, and the uneducated electors, or the wealthy, and the truly educated electors, will have a majority. We have experience as it is already, daily and hourly, of members giving up their own true opinions, for those of the electors who choose them; and this has already been done, over and over again, yearly, and daily giving way to the populace; granting them what they want bit by bit, thinking they can ward off the danger, until they get all, and from universal suffrage there is but one step to the altering the sovereign power, and the constitution of the country, and wheeling about, and changing, and forming all kinds of governments. Until the upper ranks and the wealthy set an example, and assist to support, and protect their own interests, without injury to the interests of others, and the general good of the country, they must blame themselves, and themselves alone, for any loss they may sustain in supporting, and advocating what is right, in opposition to the desires of the multitude. We would have them to act with moderation, and yield a little where it is necessary, and where injury will not follow, and by doing so in time they may preserve much, but by opposing every thing, right or wrong, which the multitude desire, they only allow, and cause, and make the multitude to canvass, and to enquire more closely into things, and their own power of carrying these measures; and by yielding them only when compelled, and grudg-

System of
education has
been the cause
of democracy.

One step from
universal
suffrage to
revolution.

ingly, they only shew the multitude the more your weakness and their power, and when a small part would have pleased them, nothing will please them now but the whole, and everything.

Some prime ministers, and those in power, are often blamed by their followers, and others, for giving way to the popular desires, and the majority, and to measures which they have long opposed; and it is said, on this account, they have no steady principles, and that they are only guided in their principles by objects as they occur from day to day; it is true so far, but it is because the multitude have the greatest power, and it is necessary for a wise minister to suit his principles so far as to make them agree with the fickle, and changeable, and hurtful desires of the multitude, so as to let them do as little harm, danger, and injury as it is possible. If he did otherwise, and adhered to his own steady principles, the multitude would have nothing to do with them; but by acting, and suiting his principles to the desires of the multitude, and the great change of principle that has taken place in the institutions and principles which have arisen in the country during the last twenty years, he gets some good done, and prevents much evil; and it is also necessary, from the changes in laws, customs, and in governing, which are daily and hourly changing, to try to better ourselves, and to compete with foreign nations, and we must daily alter, and change our measures to counteract the evil effects of these. We see in the revolutionary spirit how impossible it is for any minister or king, of the oldest and most absolute monarchies, to oppose the reforming spirit, and desire for change, in the people, but we see they are compelled to give way to their desires, to save a remnant; if they did not do so, they would lose all. It only shews that it would only be weakness on the part of a minister, in opposing a measure which he has long opposed, and successfully, when he at last sees that the multitude have fairly the power of carrying it, do what he will, and also when those who have greatest interest in supporting him, and who used to do so, now side with those whom they formerly opposed, as in the case of the corn-laws, &c. It is better to give in with a good grace, with the chance of being able to carry, and preserve other measures of importance in which he might be dangerously, and successfully opposed, if he had not yielded with a good grace to what he could not prevent from taking place; and it is not only from every thing being changed, but is from the wealthy, ambitious, and those fond of place and popularity, supporting the whims and fancies of the multitude to obtain their own desires, although they know it will injure the country, or at least be a step towards doing it. We are at present in Great Britain ripe for the operation of revolutionary principles in every respect, by the people being educated. It is not an education which has a sure, and firm basis; we may call it, or style it, as being illiterately or ignorantly educated, such as being able to read a certain chapter, or sing a certain verse, and to know and repeat the verse from memory, but without being able to understand its meaning, and to sing the tune, but without having a knowledge of music,—in fact, an education which frequently occurs at girls' boarding-schools, where they are at a very early age set to learn, and get up by heart, a great variety of different branches of

Prime ministers blamed for not being steady to one principle.

Education is of an ignorant kind.

education without understanding them ; and this is done at too early an age, and in too great numbers, and in too short a time to allow of their getting any of them correctly, and it would almost be impossible, even if they were of more mature years, and with more time to get them up accurately,—in fact, they are women when they are children. It is this cramming of a great variety in a short space of time, that is doing great harm ; it is like forcing a plant of a cold country, which requires time for its growth, but being forced up, and made to shoot quickly, and unnaturally, it has no strength, although it may look strong, and a slight blast soon destroys it. It is because the people do not understand what they have learned, and fancying they know things which they really do not know, that they suppose themselves educated, and adhering to their own opinions, and thinking for themselves, instead of allowing others, and those who are really able to think for them, and advise them rightly, and impartially.

Country ripe
for revolution.

They are ripe for revolutionary principles by their near approach, and the power they have through their time-serving, and subservient members of Parliament, of gaining universal suffrage, and by it any kind of government they wish. They are ripe for revolution, from the country being highly taxed, and burdened in every shape, it is almost possible for any country to be burdened.

Causes of revolution.

They are ripe for revolutionary principles from the want of labour, and the lowness of wages, and the expense of living, and from great competition with foreign manufacturers, and from an over-crowded population. It is these five last causes that are the great and perpetual stimulants, propellers, and constant incentives to revolution in Great Britain. It is these five causes of revolution that will lead to universal suffrage, and to our colonies becoming parts or portions governing themselves, and independent of Great Britain. India, in the East, will be amongst the first to separate herself through the misrule of the universal-suffragists ; and with this loss Britain will lose her best market. But that country is not ripe for the change ; but they will never think of that under misrule.

Revolution in
Europe.

Every country in Europe has been progressing towards revolutionary principles by means of education, not in a natural and calm state, but education that has been pushed, and hurried, and got over, without having instilled real fundamental principles, and truths. This hasty education, and cramming to give a knowledge of everything in a short space, and before it can be properly understood, has hastened the revolutions in the various kingdoms of Europe. (We have long perceived it in the system of Prussia—a species of universal mushroom education, with an absolute government, without the people having any power, could and cannot go on long in such a way.) But it might have been delayed and prevented for many years to come, if it had not been for the fraternization of the national guard of Paris with the regular army. It was this that settled the fate of the monarchical government of France, and it ought to be a warning at least in Paris, which it seems is still France, for those in power, and who wish to preserve it, to suppress the shopkeeper military, the national guard ; and with the forts, and a strong military force, we are pretty confident that those who have the supreme

Cause of the
overthrow of
the King of
France.

power may keep Paris still France, but without the power of overturning them; as the regular military will fight against a mob, when they will not against a species of military whom they sympathise with, and consider as brethren. No doubt, the forbidding of a reform meeting was the cause of the outbreak; and we are of opinion that the harm that was expected to result from this would not have happened, if the government had at the time, and for some time after, been able to amuse the Parisians—as for instance, letting Abd-el-Kader escape, and having some reviews, and popular amusements at the opera, &c. Guizot is not to be respected and approved of the less, for his remaining in his social capacity in the humble sphere in which he was, before he was first minister of so great an empire as France. We will say that we approved of Guizot as prime minister of France, but we will not say that we approved of all the policy of France, which, as her minister, he must take the credit or discredit of, whoever were the instigators of it, and to whom it was attributable. But we are of opinion that if it had not been for his general principles, and the firmness and vigour with which he governed France, she would not have been so prosperous as she is, and has been, nor would she have had so much internal quiet as she has had since he became prime minister; no other minister since 1815 has been able to check, allay, suppress, and keep quiet their evil passions and love of change, and at the same time to make, and keep the country advancing in prosperity. A minister must at times give way to the desires of his colleagues, and his master, and to the desires, and wishes of his supporters, in some small matters, in order to be able to preserve his power, and carry out greater, and more beneficial measures. We attribute some of Guizot's policy which has been generally disapproved of by foreign nations, to the general character of the French from time immemorial, and the desire of the nobles to strengthen France, and the then present regime; and he has been obliged to give way to the general feeling; some would perhaps resign in some cases rather than give way to opinions which they did not approve of, but a true-lover of his country, and one who had a sincere desire for its good, would, foreseeing the calamities that would happen by power being entrusted to weak hands, and the impossibility of directing, and guiding their movements while out of power, would rather yield to impolitic policy than resign, and lose the chance of doing much good, and benefiting his country, and preserving perhaps the peace of Europe, as it has turned out in this case, and his country from great calamities. We consider the peace of Europe for years depended on Guizot preserving his power, and the late king his throne. There are many ministers who retain power, and yield to the popular wish from a love of popularity, and a desire to preserve place; and it is sometimes difficult for the superficial observer to distinguish between the two; but in the case of Guizot, we have no reason for suspecting that he is a lover of place for the sake of power, gain, or popularity, although all, and even the best, love the approval of the good and the wise for actions done, which are disinterested, and also from the pleasure they derive from doing good, and seeing their fellow-creatures happy, and comfortable.

Remarks on
Guizot as
prime mini-
ster.

Revolution in
France and
revolution.

We had not expected that so long as the King of France lived, that any serious disturbance, or revolution would have taken place, but we strongly suspected that it would have taken place at his death, and what has just taken place in France and Europe would have arisen then; and it was on this account, and to prevent the scenes which arose in the revolution which ended in 1815, that we desired the supreme power of the King of France to remain as it was, as there seemed to be no desire on the part of the French to raise any other family to the throne; but if at the death of the king, if there were any other brought forward, the French seemingly not caring for any other, we believed that it would only lead to revolution and war throughout Europe, to bring forward the ancient family, the cousins or near relations of the late king, or to substitute any of the family which would be more approved of by the French.

The head of the French Government, if he be a statesman, will have a seat of great anxiety, and he will always be in danger, from the jealousy of his associates and opponents to get his situation. If he be a soldier, he must keep up his eclat, and position by brilliant victories, more than by permanent conquests; and when these cease, so will his power wane, and decline, and he will be unseated by some other soldier or statesman, or some one who has had the luck, or misfortune, to attract the attention of the Parisian nation. For the present, if he be of the royal family, his position will be an uneasy, and anxious one, and without any power, or authority; and if the ministers, whom he may appoint, oppose the wishes of the Parisians, he also will be unseated, unless he can keep his seat for a time by the support of the military. (We doubt if any one but a talented soldier and statesman, and one who can suit himself to all ranks, and understand well, and can suit himself to all, and can govern, and judge, and think for himself, and by himself, will be able to govern democratic France.)

To stop
French inva-
sion.

We do not know, but from the restless spirits of the French, and the spread of revolution throughout Europe, but that a general war may still arise, but in the early stage of this disturbance before these principles had broken out in other countries, when we thought that France would soon make an irruption on the other countries of Europe. (France, by enlarging her present European territory with a democratic and unruly population, is likely to be split up into different governments; and a great and mighty nation, and one which has been so long so powerful, and which is yet requisite, more than ever, to remain powerful, to preserve the balance of power among the other European powers, although she has been from time immemorial the chief cause of all the wars in Europe, in order to extend her territory, is likely to come to an end. Nothing but Union will preserve her.) When she had exhausted herself internally, we believed that this would have been best put a stop to by Russia, Prussia, and Austria invading the French territory, when the French made an inroad into the neighbouring countries, at the same time, having a force defensive, or the contrary, to oppose the French, but the principal force to invade the French territory, and letting them feel the miseries of war

at home, and internally, as well as for the purpose of keeping their forces from invading other countries; and this we believe is the best way of preventing its spread, but owing to the revolutionary principles which have broken out, it will be difficult, it will be perhaps difficult to prevent these countries from fraternizing with the French, unless, and until they feel the miseries, expenses, calamities, and the horrors of the French armies, and their insatiable ambition for conquest, possession, and glory, as they call it, more than their desire to spread their revolutionary principles; and until they feel the iron rod, and be chained with the iron fetters, and kept in slavery and bondage, under their merciless, greedy, insatiable, and tyrannical invaders, as they were during the late general war in Europe, from which they have not yet recovered, but which a rising, and the present generation have only heard of, but have forgotten, they will heedlessly join the invaders until they are brought to their senses by the above calamities which will befall them, after their invaders have got full mastery, and quiet, and easy possession of themselves, their country, and their all, under pretence of freeing them from the tyranny of their hereditary kings and rulers.

We are sorry to see the continental powers obliged to give way to the rapid, hasty, hurtful, and injurious desires for reforms, which have been demanded by those tainted with revolutionary principles, while the country and they are so unprepared by previous reforms, to take advantage and use them with wisdom, and with benefit for the general good; if they are continued they may never get the better of them, being brought forward and granted without consideration. We do not approve of such concessions, as they will not be satisfied with these, but will demand more while they have the upper hand, for which they and the country are not prepared; and unless the Powers soon gain the superior power, and take these reforms into consideration, and grant only those which the present state of the country will permit of allowing, but if this does not happen soon, they will lose the opportunity for ever of getting rid of those injurious reforms, unless there is a continental war. When this is closed, they will have an opportunity during the time of re-modelling their institutions, after the general disorder, and few will notice or object at the time to what is done. A few Russian troops, on the borders of Russia, near Austria, might at one time have prevented revolutionary reforms in Austria.

We have little doubt ere long there will be a desire for some other change in France, as the people will not bear the increased expense, and the stoppage of trade, and the throwing away of the public money, and the country will be at a stand-still, and we will have the horrors of famine and misery, and the scenes of the revolution ending 1815, or a return to better things. We doubt much if there is any one who is before the public who will be able to rule and direct them, and has the firmness, vigour, and sound sense of Guizot, to do so. None of the present directors of the government seem to us, so far as we have heard, or know anything of them, to be capable of guiding or directing them in a time of peace, whether they had the firmness or not to do so in tempestuous and turbulent times. At present everything goes on smoothly with them, but it does not

follow they are governing well, or with a likelihood that the country will be the better of it. They are governing heedlessly, recklessly, and carelessly, without any thought of the future, and without any thought of the present, except getting the supplies when, where, and how they can. It might be said the country had no government, but this cannot and will not last long ; this uncertain ways and means must come to an end, spending without having it, and having no revenue, and in the uncertain state of the country, who will lend them money ; they will get none, and there will either be anarchy and misrule, or a return to some sound method of governing. Unless the upper ranks of Britain, and the wealthy personally, try and do good, although they have great power to do good, and to direct and benefit the country by means of their property and wealth, and although they are a safeguard, and are the best means of preserving order in a country, yet they do not set, and shew a good example, and strive to do good personally ; their first-rate importance in the State, through their landed property and wealth, will be of almost no consequence in doing good, and preventing revolutionary principles.

Success of republics that have already existed.

Republics, so far as is yet known, have never succeeded permanently, however constituted those which have been most permanent were where the government was vested in the upper and wealthy ranks. So long as they remained uncorrupted, where this was changed, and where corruption and misgovernment took place, they lost gradually the respect of the people, who would be led by them no longer ; and the people getting the power, every one, high and low, had an equal right to express, and have an opinion and direction in the government. The republic has then been soon broken up, and come to an end by dissensions. In other instances, a republic has succeeded for a time by the superior vigour and talents of an individual ; but so soon as he relinquished, or was forced to relinquish, his power, there soon followed anarchy, and ruin to the republic. Rome, so long as she was governed as a republic by her nobility-senators, was prosperous ; but so soon as the rabble and the mob got a right or suffrage in the government, she decayed, and became a sovereignty. Carthage was destroyed by a fickle, unthankful multitude governing ; and at last, by trusting for support, defence, and aggrandisement, to a mercenary army, was destroyed.

Rome.

Carthage.

Greece as a republic.

Greece, so long as a powerful master-hand directed any of her republics, was prosperous ; but so soon as that hand was removed, as it most frequently was, by the ambition and intrigues of an opponent, or from the fickleness of an ungrateful rabble, there was then nothing but strife, dissension, and misrule.

Venetian republic.

Venice was a republic, but she was ruled by nobility-senators ; and only a few of these had the management of the government ; in fact, it was an absolute government of the most extreme kind, governed by a few instead of one ; but as soon as the people interfered, or the senators quarrelled amongst themselves for power, from selfish motives, then her doom was sealed, and she gradually came to have no influence or power when Napoleon seized on her ; and, after his fall, she was given to Austria, the best thing that could be done with her, as it is a means of preserving the peace of Europe,

and strengthening Austria, and giving her an outlet for her goods of all kinds which she so much requires.

France, when she was a republic, was always in a state of continual bloodshed, murder, strife, and dissension, and in debt, without law or justice; and she soon came to an end by a powerful and ambitious master-hand, pretending to act according to her desires, but only as a means of furthering his ends and ambition; and at last he seized on her, and became her master and sole director, and at length her absolute king, and ruled her with an iron hand; and she still labours under the losses and injuries she sustained from becoming a republic, and was just recovering from their effects when she has again become a republic, and has in a few days already greatly increased her debt, and is likely to continue to do so.

The beheading of Charles the 1st, and the long, bloody, and cruel civil wars are in accordance with the usual way in which attempts at dethronement are carried on; and if Cromwell could have depended on royalty to protect him, there is little doubt that there would have been no revolution in England, nor dethronement of a king, and his beheading, but to preserve himself, more than the idea of aggrandizing himself, although, as is generally usual in such cases where there is success, it brings forward ambitious and aggrandizing thoughts; but like the conquests and shedding of blood of Napoleon, it might be at one time from ambition to gain power, and to dazzle, but it was more frequently, and latterly, to preserve himself and the throne on which he sat. Cromwell's Protectorate differs from the case of the majority, but not of every one who gains a kingdom by a wrong succession, as his rule was fruitful, and beneficial to the kingdom, and England under his rule was respected at home and abroad, more than it was for some time before or after his reign, although his power was visibly on the wane before his death. But, like most usurpers, his power descended not to his posterity, but, through the moderate views and secret movements of General Monk, the old race returned once more to the throne, without the frequent practice of fighting, and being opposed on their return; but still the evil effects, and a deadly venom, were left. By having no opposition, the Stuart family forgot their misfortunes, and misruled and misgoverned the kingdom without opposition or fear of an opponent, which would not have been the case had the second Charles and his minions, who had opposed, and not assisted him in recovering his throne, had a little more opposition; but he and they misruled, and abused those who had assisted him and his father. It is only common, in such cases, for kings, where they have regained their authority, to misuse it more than they would if they had never lost power, as they fancy, rather than lose them, and have the terrors of a revolution, civil war, and a tyranny, they will submit to any misrule, because the king on the throne is the only legal successor of a long race of kings, kept there, and reigning by the power of an unseen Being, and not by man, to whom they owe no obedience or respect.

The Protectorate of England, being that of a single head or master, was prosperous on account of being governed by a single person. Where there are many rulers or masters, there are apt to be differences and varieties of opinions; but where there is one master, and

Protectorate
of England.

that a judicious one, he can direct the movements of all, and use the opinions which are best ; but where there is a head, as a president, he has not the power, and cannot overrule the opinions of his colleagues, who consider that their opinion should be followed as well as that of the president ; and on this account there is jealousy, and there is a slowness, halting, and half-carrying out of measures, so as to please all, by giving way a little to each, as each considers he has as good a right to have his opinion carried out as the president has ; and if it is not yielded to a certain extent, they will not support the president, and the country is ruined, and there is nothing but misrule, and the president is obliged to give way, to prevent total ruin. Measures being too long of being carried into operation, and there being a want of unity and unanimity between all the parts, the machinery does not work well.

Swiss Republic.

Switzerland is no exception to the rule of the evils attending a republic. She was lately torn by civil strife and dissension, and is always on the eve of dismemberment.

American Republic.

America is governed and directed by a rabble without any regard to right or justice, as may be seen in what is called Lynch law ; and the government are so weak, that they cannot bring the culprit to justice. This republic has continued without the different States of which it is composed separating ; although it has, more than any government that ever existed, the elements of disruption within itself in great abundance. The cause of these not taking effect, arises from causes which are not present in almost any country of Europe, but which, in course of time, will be removed ; and then a dismemberment and disunion will take place. So far therefore as we know, from past experience, of the permanency and benefits of republican governments, we have a very unfavourable opinion ; but we do not know what the effects of time, and an improved state of education, morality, and government may do to improve and render them permanent ; but so far as we at present see, we have little hope of their being permanent or beneficial.

Republics of South America.

We may also example the numerous republics of South America, which are in a constant state of dissension, strife, and civil war, and which are never prosperous, and which alone prevent peace and prosperity to these portions of that continent. We see the prosperity of the Brazils, and the quiet reigning there, because a sovereign rules them, and being on the same continent, is a contrast to the republics. But there are many who will not endeavour from these examples set before them to try and use the means of preventing revolutionary principles, as they suppose they will not be permanent ; but we see the contrary in Switzerland, America, and the South American Republics ; but even if it were not the case, a republic may continue 30 years or less, and do great harm and injury, as may be seen in the case of the last French Republic. It is better to try, and easier to prevent an evil or disease, than to remedy or cure it when it has fairly broken out.

French Republic.

Means for preventing revolution, and defence in war.

In these times, when revolution and war are likely to break out, we ought to be, and ought to have been prepared ere now to resist their attacks ; and as our troops are widely scattered throughout the globe, we ought to have that economical, and ever-ready, and wide-

spread means of defence, the militia, in order that all may be prepared at all times, to resist the attacks of an invader ; and it is the duty of all to agree to such a military force, as it is a saving to the country, and prevents the great expenditure consequent on keeping up a great military force which is not permanently required, and therefore all are bound, either to pay for an increased military to defend and protect themselves, or to a militia force. Such a force, in the case of a war, is a safe one ; but we have doubts of its safety in a time of peace, and especially in the present age ; it is only putting into the hands of the mob the means of rioting and carrying into effect their revolutionary principles. We may remark, that it is of great importance to use proper, and sure means of preventing danger and destruction from occurring from riots, and the inclination to do so. Now there is one means of checking it still in our power, when we are too late to use moral means ; and this is a large military force to be placed in all the hot-beds of chartism, and those places from whence revolutionary principles, and chartism are reared and spread abroad. They are numerous, but they are not numerous when compared with other places. We allude to the manufacturing towns and districts, where a double military force ought to be stationed, to be always ready to check, and suppress any outbreak, and at once to stop it, and thus prevent its success, and the encouragement it would give if successful, to future outbreaks from being attempted, as well as not to give encouragement to other places to rise from success in these. The military, in very large manufacturing towns and districts, ought only to remain six months in each of these districts, or even a shorter time, if they have been accustomed to the manners of such districts, as well as to be acquainted with the neighbourhood, which they ought all to be, in order that they may act more efficiently and in time ; but to prevent their getting too familiar with the populace, they ought to be removed frequently to a quiet and rural district, and those who have been in such, ought to take their place. We must now use physical force, as the times require it ; and we have sufficient proof of this in the fact, that revolutionary and unsettled principles have broken out and taken a footing, not only in a manufacturing district, but in the city of Edinburgh.

Militia.

Rotation of troops.

When Ireland is so much disturbed, and where there is so much difficulty in suppressing the secret murders, and outrages of the Irish peasantry, the forces or troops sent to protect the peaceable portion, have not the desired effect, but we would suggest a measure for the better protection of life and property of the subject. When there is an inclination to murder, this is not a permanent remedy, that must be left to be wrought out by moral means. For the protection of property and life, the government ought not to be sparing of a large military force, and although this be attended with great expense, a small force has no beneficial effect ; but if a large force once suppresses, or keeps quiet the incendiaries, it will have, and will leave, a good moral impression, to prevent them breaking out in times of trouble ; but the usual military has not the good results which a combination of police and military have when co-operating together ; but to make the whole less expensive, and to make the military protection more effective, the steadiest and soberest men, and that

A new force to preserve the Irish.

part of the soldiery in a regiment that can be depended on singly, ought to be picked out, and extra pay given to them, with a plain dress or police uniform, and they ought, until they have experience, or where they are to be had, to be under the control, and command of regular experienced, and trust-worthy police officers, but still to be employed in their regiment when required; they ought to have a police officer with a policeman for every six or eight soldiers, so as to direct, and instruct them in the proper, and peculiar duties of protecting the subject, and detecting the culprits.

The policemen may be mounted or not as it may be thought necessary, and the whole to be spread throughout the country, but always having small scattered depôts, where they may be gathered together as quick as possible when wanted, or receive any necessary orders that may be required. We have little doubt that such a force would be more efficient, more useful, and less expensive, than any at present employed. Soldiers acting in large numbers have not the same kind of alertness, and efficiency for such a service, as that of preserving the inhabitants from secret murders and burnings. This kind of service will improve the general qualities of the military; and to prevent them from forgetting their particular military duties, they might take it in rotation, and they might be used in towns where there are no police in times of trouble, if the magistrates were to give them extra pay; but as to Ireland, we have only to remark, that this is only a palliative means of keeping quiet the Irish, and that nothing but a real moral improvement on the habits, and welfare of the Irish will have a beneficial effect.

Navy.

There is a means of defence for Britain against foreign foes, and the best means of defence Great Britain has, and has had, and one which alone preserved Britain from being enslaved like the other European powers—we allude to her naval force. It was owing to her naval power alone that Britain and her colonies, and the colonies of other nations, and the conquest of other nations, at the least, the temporary destruction, and ruin of other nations by the French was prevented, and their movements, and extended conquests, and subjugations, and the stoppage of commerce were prevented, and our assistance of all kinds to other nations were owing to our Wooden-Walls, and it was these that saved Great Britain, and we must trust to them again. It is as well not to require the assistance of our army in Great Britain, that is not required until our navy has been overcome, and it is possible for this force to save us again; and there is therefore the greater necessity for fostering, and cherishing it, and keeping it in a perfect state. There is no doubt that the pecuniary resources of Great Britain can ill afford to lay out carelessly, and extravagantly, large sums of money, but it is to prevent a worse, and a greater evil, and loss befalling us, that we would recommend the country not to be too niggardly, as greater losses would happen to us if we were subdued by a foreign power, as we would be, if we were not in a state of preparation. We ought to have the entrances to all our principal rivers guarded, and the principal towns in these fortified; and we ought to have swift and shallow steamers able to sail close in shore, so as to be out of the reach of a foe, and be able to communicate intelligence to given points quickly. A navy is a

Benefits of
our navy.

Swift steamers
to carry intel-
ligence.

fortification and defence, which is transportable, and useful everywhere, and is the safest and most economical defence that we can have, and sailors are less contaminated, and tainted, and meddle, and interfere with chartism and politics, less than soldiers and militia, and are more trustworthy and to be depended on; and if a revolution arose, a navy might be a means of suppressing it, by preventing commerce and stopping supplies of all kinds; but we must not forget fortifications and a military force to assist us, if our navy did not assist us, or was overcome. By the old navy men, there was, and still is, a great prejudice against steam-vessels; but as our opponents have increased, and are improving this branch of marine, as one having it, gives it a superiority over another power not possessed of it, it is necessary for a power wishing to be on an equal footing with other powers, that they possess, and have as great a force of steam-vessels as the other powers of Europe, so that they may not be placed at a disadvantage. It is of no earthly consequence whether a steam-vessel is superior or inferior to a sailing vessel; it is sufficient that a steam-vessel has a superiority over a sailing vessel in many respects, at certain times, and under certain circumstances, and at such periods, it has an advantage over them, and it is therefore of the greatest moment that we are prepared, and have an equal antagonist force to cope at all seasons with an opposing power, or force. Wherever we see a superior force in a hostile power, whatever that force be, we must get a force or power the same, or superior to oppose it; and this is a sufficient reason at all times for our altering our old, and what was at one time a good system, and a system by which we were always successful, and by which we were saved for a new and untried but quite possible system, and a system which, if we want, we are likely to come off at a loss by still adhering to our old, and at one time, successful means of defence. Steam-vessels.

Some objections have been raised against steam-vessels,—first, that the funnels may be blown away by a shot, there can be no doubt about the possibility and chance of this occurring; but is there not means of doing without a chimney? Is it not in the power of possibility that the smoke may be consumed by some means or other? There are many methods of doing this, and it has been said that it has been done with success; if others say that it has not altogether succeeded, there can be no doubt, by encouraging the improvement of it, that in time it will be successful. The government ought to get all these improvements effected, as it will, in the case of smoke, benefit towns in a point of health, as well as preserve the buildings from being blackened. Objections to steam-vessels that may be removed.

The next principal objection is the paddles and boxes. In a calm these are required, and are apt to be shot away, or injured; but in a breeze they can, and could be easily lifted out of their place by the same machinery that works them. By fitting and forming it for this purpose, it could as easily lift the paddle-boxes and wheels on deck as set them moving; but if, in a calm, they should happen to be damaged, and prevent the vessel from moving, and render her an easy prey to an enemy, it is quite easy or possible to obviate this objection by having the same vessel fitted with an Archimedean screw, and make her machinery so as to fit and Paddles, wheels.

Screw Steam-ers. work her with paddle-wheels, or with a screw. There is little chance of damage occurring to this last. There is no doubt the speed is slower; but if greater speed is required, we can use the paddle-wheels, and if there is danger to these, the screw will carry the vessel out of danger, though it may be slowly; but if it were not for the crew, she might otherwise be lost.

Sailors' provisions. Before concluding, we would say a few words with regard to the difficulty of getting sailors, owing to their getting more provisions in the merchant service to fill them up. Although they may get enough in the navy to keep them in good health, and working condition, we mean enough in quality and nourishment, but not enough in quantity to fill up and distend the stomach. They, therefore, coming out of a merchant vessel, and having been used to that service all their lives, when they go into the navy, they eat up all their provisions before they are soon to be served out more; and it is impossible for a hungry and weak man to work in such a case, or to be contented with the service. Perhaps an increase in the quantity of bread might be a remedy for this; and if they ate up all their beef, they would have bread both to distend, and keep them from being hungry. The wages are said to be much inferior, as well as the provisions to those of the American navy; and sailors uneducated are thoughtless, and are fond of change, and may be not over patriotic; and we know that the American navy, at present is, and was crowded with British seamen, during the late war, when sailors could not be got for the navy. The only remedy to prevent this, is to raise the wages, &c.; it is really worth doing, when they are our very best protection.

To get sailors. When a vessel comes home from a station, the crew is paid, and very likely they immediately enter the merchant service. Now, sailors are fond of keeping by the messmates, amongst whom they have been for years; and if a vessel were always in readiness to sail after another came in, and was laid up, we have little doubt they would get the most of the sailors to join who had just come in; and it would be better for the service to get these again, as they fully understand, and are accustomed to the service, than to take in new, and raw men, although there was no difficulty in getting them.

Future prospects in the governing of Britain. In conclusion, the effects of the outbreak of revolution and universal suffrage will be more serious than a war with a foreign foe, and we ought to check it, and keep it under by moral, and when necessary by physical force. The results of universal suffrage will be to do away with the national debt, without making any payment for this purpose to the thousands of proprietors of that stock here and abroad, and even including foreign sovereigns. This has been for a long time a favourite, and one of the most favourite, schemes of the universal suffragists, as well as those above them; in fact, the paying up the national debt has been a favourite dream of ours since we recollect, but we mean to pay it up; but we both agree as to the great good of there being no national debt, and we cannot but regret that Mr Pitt's fund, and means for this purpose, had not been allowed to take effect, and we would have now been clear of a great debt, and one which is the ruin of the country, and a perpetual drag on the energies of the nation. We cannot move a step in effecting good but it stops us; and at present,

do what we can, we see no chance of being relieved of it; if we had been rid of it we would not have been continually harassed with revolutionary principles, and for universal suffrage, and the desire of the people and mob to direct the nation. They wish to do this because they suppose they could alleviate the heavy burdens, and expense, and taxes with small means, by which they are burdened. If they could be relieved of this, our taxes would be reduced, and we could give higher wages, and the manufacturer would have constant work, as we would be able to compete, and undersell foreign nations; but we see no possibility of our getting rid of the national debt, and get the great benefits that would result from it.

The people will also reduce the taxes and the navy, as they say we require no defence, at least there will be no war; they will reduce the army, also the offices of state, and the revenue, &c., and there will be a diminution in the salaries of those; the pension-list will be inspected, and a considerable few of the holders of these will be struck off. The members of the House of Peers will be elected for life or yearly, and at last the peerage will be dissolved, and an upper house elected from the mass of the people. It is likely the members of Parliament or the convention will have a yearly salary, and they will some day, in a quiet way, through some of their number, or through the prime minister of their own election, carry a notice to the head of the monarchy, saying they, or the people, have come to the decision of altering the constitution of Great Britain, and that, according to their present views, a sovereign is not necessary, or at all a requisite part of the constitution, and more especially owing to the great expense attending the supporting of royalty, and as it is, and has been for a long time of no moment to the State, they now dispense with the services of citizen Victoria, or whatever they like to call a private subject. Will the wealthy yield to it? We fear, if we can judge from the past, when they could have delayed hurtful measures, at least they said they were so, that they will let this pass off as quietly as they did these.

Many foreigners deceive themselves, and do injury to their country, by attempting to introduce reforms too quickly into the State, without preparation for such a change; it is done because they see the improvement in houses, dress, agriculture, and every article in England, and they go away considering this superiority and appearance of excellence, comfort, and order, as a result of their institutions. It is no doubt so to a certain extent, but it also takes place from improvement in manufacturing, and from varying their manufactures, and increasing them to give employment and stop competition; such improvements may be introduced into foreign countries at once, and with benefit, although there is no increase of reform in the State. Britain looked and seemed to thrive, before the passing of the reform bill, as she is now. No doubt her trade has since increased, but this is owing to improvements in China, and the East Indies, and her other colonies, and also within herself; she being larger, required more goods. A certain portion of reform was necessary in the advanced stage of education and civilization in which Britain was; and few, almost no country in Europe, is prepared for it to the same extent as Britain was and is. Too much of reform is as bad as none, and we may have too much of it;

and so is too much of any thing. A large population of artizans, with plenty of work, have little time to interfere with politics, and do not do it in such cases; it is only when they are idle that they disturb the nation, and clamour about politics, equal rights, universal suffrage, division of property. Yes, foreigners deceive themselves, and look at our railways, and without introducing these, &c., introduce hasty reforms.

Priests of Spain.

Until the priests of Spain are better educated, and until there is more peace, and quiet, and industrious habits in the land, and until the people are better educated, and have a more liberal system of education, there is little chance of improvement for Spain. Railways, where they are possible to be made, will be a powerful means, by having a better and easier communication of improving the natives of Spain, and will assist greatly in repressing disturbances and riots, and in carrying troops to different parts to repress guerillas, a great and principal cause of keeping up disturbances, and the restlessness, and insecurity of Spain, and although put down for a time, they are always ready to rise, and assist those who require the aid of irregular, or any kind of force for rebellion, or disturbance; and when not acting as such they turn robbers. They are famous when their country is invaded for harassing and annoying these, and they have been so since the time of the Romans; it is the same with all natives of hilly and wild countries, such only allowing of this kind of petty warfare, and they knowing the country better than strangers, can only employ it. Almost all countries have a natural way of fighting, and defending themselves, and it suits the climate, and the position, and natural defences of the country, and its resources. When they fight in a regular way, and depart from this they are sure to lose the fight, unless under certain favourable circumstances. The soldiers of Eastern countries are something similar to this. The Arabs attack, and harass, and retreat, before you know it, and they are very destructive so long as they keep by this system. In the same way the Cossacks are a useful and powerful defence in a country, and are powerful auxiliaries to a regular army. In South America they have a force of the same kind. Riflemen, in woody countries, in straggling parties, are another species of natural protection, and they do great injury, never coming face to face—they are all guerillas, and do great destruction in their own way, but when they change their system of fighting they are soon destroyed.

Guerillas of Spain and other countries.

Preservation of domestic quiet in Spain.

In the case of Spain, to preserve domestic quiet, they would require troops acquainted with the country, and to be depended on in the places where disturbances most frequently occur, and they ought to be frequently removed, so that they may not get too intimate with the inhabitants, and join them. Troops are necessary to keep the country quiet, and to protect manufactures, and to allow education to go on; if they go and stop, and go on and stop, by disturbances, they will never do any good; and after they are fairly set agoing, and if you have improved and changed the habits of the people for the better, they will not be required in so large an amount, and Spain may then hold up her head, and be listened to by the other nations of Europe, instead of being ruled, and dictated

to by some, and all of these. Spain only requires a good, and faithful soldier and general, and a powerful and faithful army, and a good, and talented, and disinterested minister, and the priesthood and people educated, and railways and manufactures set agoing, and Spain will be a prosperous and powerful nation.

Greece is a country which has a resemblance to Ireland in the temperament of its inhabitants, who are a bold and brave race, but they are a restless and unsettled race. It is a country which has been in an unsettled state since its separation from Turkey, and a great cause of this arises from its people getting the power of governing themselves before they have the knowledge, wisdom, and especially the education, to know how to rule, and direct, and govern, and do what is necessary for a nation at all periods of its civilization; and it has been done before the nation has become so civilized and settled down, so as to know, and allow of its being governed, and directed in that way which is for the general good. As the members and representatives of a popular assembly, more especially in a new country, and we may say a barbarous and uncivilized country like Greece, are apt to look more to their own interest and wants, and the interest and wants of the particular district to which they belong, and each doing this, there are apt to be so many different interests desired and mixed up, and some will not give way to their neighbours, and by doing this the general, and future interests of the nation are lost sight of, for the particular, local, and present interests, and the people are at the same time, from ignorance, and want of education, and knowledge, general as well as particular, wholly ignorant of the art of governing. Where the government is not of a popular kind, there are a few who are educated, and who understand, and know from the history of other nations and people, what is necessary to be done for a nation so circumstanced, and in its infancy, as the Greeks are; and they apply these principles to her generally, and at the same time study the nature and capabilities of the country and the people, and for the advanced state of civilization elsewhere. They allow of a greater popular freedom in their case, as they know from having examples of improvement before their eyes, in the case of other nations. They know that their countrymen will acquire education, civilization, and the art of governing, and to be governed quicker, than if they were to be left to improve themselves as their wants required it, and as their own experience, without any other knowledge than their own taught. Where there are only a few educated and learned, and who know how to govern, by there being an immense number more in an assembly wholly ignorant of the art of legislating, the few are rendered useless.

If measures are advocated, and promulgated which are for the general and not the particular good, and if they are enforced, and they will be readier to be so, and less complaint will likely arise from them where a few are issuing and carrying into effect these orders, than where the whole country is governing, and where each and all may suppose they are contrary to their particular interests, and they thus oppose, and confuse every measure that is attempted to be introduced which may not be for their good, although for the general, and future good of themselves and all. Greece may in

GREECE.

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Greece, and
the govern-
ment of a na-
tion in its in-
fancy.

many respects be said to be a barbarous nation, and for such a nation the constitution of Great Britain cannot be said to be a proper one; for a nation like Greece, a species of arbitrary government is requisite for at least twenty years, until she is fitted by civilization, education, and a correspondence, and an association with other nations, to govern herself. If the arbitrary government is not of a selfish nature, but doing that which is for the good of all, it is the only kind of government which will work well, and peaceably for the first twenty years of a kingdom like Greece, or any other kingdom so circumstanced; and in the present day, to prevent tyranny by such an arbitrary government, such a country might be put under the protection of foreign powers. A popular assembly, if the members were all well educated, and had travelled, and had studied the institutions of other countries, would do very well, if they only looked to Greece as a whole, and if they took no notice of the particular interests; but where each and all look only to particular interests, there is nothing but confusion and half measures, and the nation is kept constantly, and far behind in all, and every improvement, and in civilization.

Advantages of
Greece com-
mercially.

Greece is a country which is very advantageously situated to flourish. It is a fertile country, and its inhabitants are an active, acute, and strong race, and one which at one time no nation, past or present, has been able to rival in science and knowledge; and it cannot but be thought but that her descendants will have in them some of the intellect and talent of their ancestors, who, although they had the talent for science, and polite and useful literature, yet, like their present descendants, they were a fickle, and difficult people to govern, or be governed by themselves, or popularly, but were only well governed when ruled by some single, and powerful hand, or under the dominion of another nation. They were changeable, and unsettled in their government, and were steadier under a powerful arbitrary ruler, than under their continually changing democratic institutions. There can be little doubt, from our knowledge of them since they became a kingdom, that they still inherit the same changeableness, and ill success when governed popularly.

As a naval
power.

They are fitted, like their ancestors, of being a naval people; and we have the experience of their abilities in this respect during the time they were attempting to gain their independence, when some of their islanders shewed great skill, and abilities in their engagements with other vessels, and great courage when in close combat with them. It is a pity, after the endeavours they made to gain their independence, that they should not be more settled, and apply themselves more to the good government of their country than selfishness; but it is not to be expected that they should, from their state of civilization. But education, and knowledge of other nations and people, will teach them the art of governing for the good of their country, and not for themselves only; and by increased traffic and cultivation of their country, they may be a great means of assisting in civilizing, and improving their old masters, and now neighbours, the Turks, who still remain in the same careless, and apathetic state that they did one hundred years ago, not moving even to assist, or put themselves out of danger when they are in the way of it, and see it rushing on them. If they do

TURKEY.

not improve with the age, and by their communication with Europeans, the Greeks may, in time, take a small piece more of their territories, as well as the Russians, and also the Austrians, to whose territories the Turkish is so conveniently situated; in fact, they could easily divide European-Turkey amongst them. There is no country susceptible of greater improvement than Turkey. She has climate, soil, people, and situation, to make her a great and powerful nation; her people, for this purpose, only require to get out of Turkey and their apathetic state, always remaining content as they are, and the education with their present condition, so long as they get their pipe, coffee, of its men, and opium; until they send the children of their men of rank to be and especially educated, and travel themselves, and get a knowledge of the world, as a great and see the advantages of European habits, and customs, and acquire means of its requirements, and the benefits of commerce, or mix and associate more improvement. familiarly in their houses, as well as out of them, with Europeans, and have them in their cities, and unless they do so, they will be seized, and made a prey to the three above powers; and they must also get out of the slavish belief of the obedience that they suppose is requisite for them to give to the Koran, and to the expounders and ministers of that worship and doctrine, and be less under its superstitious belief, so far as it prevents them being better educated, and associating and communicating with other nations; and they must also give up the system of keeping their wives in retirement, and keeping them apart, as it is a great cause of the estrangement, and retired habits of the Turks, as women are a bond between family and family, and keep up the association, and sociality, and communion, and intimacy when the men are otherwise employed, and are a great means of laying open, and communicating what is going on in the external world, and keeping up their knowledge of the improvements that are going on there, for without this daily communication with the world, and your fellows, you get far behind your neighbours in knowledge, information, and power on this account, and in the same way the whole nation, from want of intercourse with other nations; but until the Turks associate, both publicly and privately, more freely with their own people, and allow their wives to do the same with the men in their presence, at first it might be, and if they do not associate more frequently with Europeans, both in their own country and abroad, and if they do not educate their children as they educate them in Europe, and give them a knowledge of the history of other nations, and the occupations, and employments, and customs of other nations of modern times, in amusing and light reading, and by tales or stories, to make and give them a desire to read, and to incite and stimulate them to follow the same example, and to improve themselves, and to make them ashamed of their being so far behind all other nations in everything, and also to give them a knowledge of nations in ancient times, and to give them books of travels, and accounts of the countries of Europe, with plates descriptive of what is useful, and it will still farther, and better impress it on them, as well as amuse and instruct them. They would be readier to learn and be taught by muftis of their own, if it were possible to get any so liberal and disinterested; but it would be more advantageous and still better if they had European masters, or natives of Turkey, who

were not ministers of their religion. If some such plan is not done, they will not be able to take advantage of the great resources of their country to improve and make the best of them, nor will they be able to compete with the commerce of other countries, and be a commercial people, of which they have every advantage that is required. They have a large and fertile territory, and they have, in the northern parts of the kingdom a good climate, and throughout the whole of her European territory a people famous in ancient times for courage, and for their warlike habits, and who are a bold, and brave, and strong race, and they should, by all means, strive to preserve their northern provinces from encroachment; and if they were educated and civilized, they would be more than a match for any who would oppose them. They have to the south a warm and genial climate, and in Asia they have a climate which will grow everything, from grain to the finest fruits.

Turks soon desire and relish the customs and tastes of Europeans, after they have been amongst them; and by being accustomed to the habits of Europeans, and mixing with them, and with their wives, and seeing no bad effects from this, they would freely permit the same liberty to their wives, and might in time only keep one wife, as, in general, one is as much as one man can have any need for, and as they can generally use, as may be seen, in their always having a favourite. By having their wives and children educated, and seeing no harm from it, and constantly seeing it, they would get accustomed to it, and they would even feel displeased and hurt if they wanted education, if they saw it in the case of others, and they would be gratified, and take a pleasure in it; and by their wives and children being educated, they would do the same, that is, the children when they were grown up.

If it were possible to get more of their ministers of religion to get informed, educated, and liberal, they might greatly improve the people and their worship, but there is no use attempting to force this or any thing else on them; it is always a sure means of making it more permanent, and giving them a greater opposition to that which you attempt to force on them. It must be done gradually; it must be constantly held up to their view, till they get accustomed to it, and they will desire to pick it up themselves; and if they see the advantage that others derive from it, they will likely follow it, and be ashamed of their own ignorance.

Turks have
the elements
of being a
great nation.

There is little doubt that the Turks have the elements of being a powerful nation, with the possessions they still have; and by having plenty of sea-coast, with safe and commodious harbours, and being at the west end of a great sea, the Mediterranean, and as she has beyond and to the east of her countries, containing and being capable of having great wealth. There is little doubt if her people were more European, with still a little of their eastern habits, to suit them to their climate, and if they were educated, and had manufactories and encouraged, and promoted private mercantile shipping, Turkey would be a great and powerful commercial nation. She ought to be kept entire on her European side; for if she loses more of her European territory, she loses her best, and most powerful, brave, and energetic soldiers and defenders; and these, by being mixed and associated with her other provinces, will give them

strength, and habits of firmness and enterprise, and they will be a constant and powerful supply for this purpose; unless they are constantly supplied and replenished, Europeans soon degenerate in eastern and warm climates, and lose the strength and vigour of the race from whom they are descended.

Her dominions ought to be preserved full and entire, as they at present are, under her own power and rule; and if there is any likelihood of her improving like the nations of Europe, of which there is a possibility on the Hungarian side, from the example there, and on the Greek from the example in time there; and if she is able to preserve her provinces, and protect them herself, she has great opportunities, by being civilized, of having a powerful navy, and powerful means of protecting herself, and the different parts of her empire, and one which it is necessary for her to have. Turkey might spare some of her Asiatic territory, but she cannot spare any of her European; it is there that her strength, and support, and preservation against the encroachments of others lie, and it is there she will get soldiers, and it is there that she will get vigorous, and strong-minded men to sprinkle amongst her other territories, to strengthen, direct, and to defend them.

If Russia got a part of Turkey and Constantinople, and if the people of the Russian provinces bordering on Turkey and the Black Sea were to get educated, and also the Turks, there is little doubt they would form themselves into a separate sovereignty, or of a son of Russia, who might govern these provinces under his brother, if they had a quarrel. It is not in the nature of the country that it should be a province with the seat of government and direction so far distant; they can feel no attachment or hereditary affection for such distant relationship; it is impossible that one hand can direct and rule, if educated, so immense a people under one government; it is possible for an educated people to govern a large uneducated, and barbarous people; but as Turkey is situated, if she becomes educated, and gets cause of complaint, she joins with the Black Sea provinces, and with a portion of Poland perhaps, and becomes a more powerful, and better situated, kingdom than Russia.

RUSSIA.

Russia with a
part of Tur-
key.

Poland is a country which would have been a powerful nation, and one of the most powerful of Europe, if she had territory sufficient to make her so, and she might have acquired more; but it is not territory alone that makes a great and powerful nation: it is the people who inhabit it that are the chief cause of it; and where the people are brave, strong, enterprising and acute, in them are the elements and sinews of a great and powerful nation. The Poles were before the rest of Europe—especially the nobles and gentry—an enlightened and learned nation; and her females were cultivated, and educated, and refined. Where the females of a nation are cultivated and educated, they are a powerful means of civilizing, softening, and refining, and improving the males, and the males are sure to follow, to a certain extent, the example which they behold in the females, as they constantly behold it, and they gradually acquire these habits of good, whatever they may be; and we ought therefore always to strive to improve females, and keep them pure, and cultivated, and good, as the men and children being more with them than away from them, and suspecting no harm to result from them, while they are over-

POLAND,

looking them, and seeing no harm to arise, but only seeing pleasure and good to arise, they gradually get pleased with it, and gradually acquire these good benefits or acquisitions, and cannot do without them; and the children, from being constantly with the females, acquire either their good or bad habits, and whatever they acquire it adheres to them in manhood, and in old age; but if it is good, it is more likely to become a part of them. It is therefore of great importance in the civilizing, and improving of a people and nation, to have the females brought up, and educated in such a way as to make and preserve the benefits and good impression, and they are more likely to keep them, and not to lose them, like men, as they are mostly at home, and do not mix with those who are likely to rub it off. Men mix, and are obliged to do so, with the good as well as the bad, and if they were not remembered at home by seeing the females and their children preserving what is good, they would be apt to lose it, by associating and mixing with the bad and wicked of the world, and by constantly seeing evil and never good. For the same reason, it is for the benefit of all nations that the females are educated, and taken care of in such a manner as to lay and keep this impression on the males; and the wives of the Turks ought to be so educated. It will be the first thing to improve them, and it would be a great means of making a permanent impression on their children, and on their husbands, who are so often at home. In the days of chivalry, we see the influence the females possessed over the males, and the ideas of honour, and boldness, and refinement, which it caused in these, and was the means of weaning them from barbarous and rude manners, habits, and customs, and was a great means of progressing civilization; although at times this influence might be used improperly; yet by the males being educated and refined as well as the females, they will be able to resist, and know to resist that which is not right. The Poles in their character bear a resemblance to the Irish in their misrule and misfortunes. The source of all their misfortunes was their king being elective, and this gave rise to eternal disputes amongst their nobles. They never were wholly unanimous; there were always some who did not wish, and would not obey and submit to the king who was elected; and the kingdom, by this means, was never at rest, and those who were dissatisfied were constantly opposing all good that was attempted, and they were also constantly intriguing with foreign powers, and foreign powers and sovereigns were constantly interfering, and intriguing to get their sons elected; and when they effected their purpose, they used them as instruments for their own purposes and benefit, and not for the benefit of the kingdom over which they ruled. The kingdom by this means never kept on improving; and at the same time, even if the sovereign wished to benefit the nation, yet, if it were in opposition to the interests of those who elected him, he was obliged to give way to these as they elected him, and they not having any affection for him as for a sovereign whose ancestor's rule they had been accustomed to obey, and to respect, and to love for centuries, and they therefore did not obey his commands implicitly, and they also ruled and directed him for their own benefit; and he was obliged to submit, to get and keep their support against those who opposed his election, and

Great cause
of the down-
fall of Po-
land.

those who constantly opposed him. But where the king is hereditary, the kingdom is not divided for a whole reign into two parties, one constantly opposing every measure, good and bad, and the other opposing all measures except those for their own good, and not giving their assistance unless when it suited them. But where there is a hereditary king, there is not a division into two parties. Where his measures are good, there is a general desire and obedience to follow them, as all know the sovereign is doing it for the general good of the nation, whose interests are his own, and the more all are benefited it is the better for him; and he supports no particular party, and he acts and desires their good as a father to his children, and as one who esteems them as his birthright from a long and illustrious race, and as a birthright which is to descend to his children after him, and it is for his and their benefit, and for no stranger's benefit, and it may be apparent that he is improving the kingdom. An elective sovereign only looks to his own and present interests, and not to the future interests; for at the death or resignation of an elective sovereign there was a strife and warfare to get one elected, and when he was elected, his policy was quite at variance with that of the former, and the kingdom was never in a flourishing state. There is little doubt that the kingly form of government is better than that of the republican; as it might be said that kings have no great power at the present day in ruling, and acting arbitrarily against the will of the nation; and we know that kings and rulers who are hereditary have no particular partialities towards one side or another, but have a desire, as well as their family, for what is for the general good; and if they had, they have no particular influence to oppose the wishes of the nation; and we know where the head of a nation is elective for a lifetime, it is attended with serious, and detrimental consequences, and injury to the nation, whether the individual is royally born or not, as at each election it is a fruitful source of discord, and separation of the nation into two parties, who oppose and retard the measures of each other during the whole time of the appointment, and it is a fruitful source of ill-will, and dislike, and of commotion near the time of the election and after it; but where it is hereditary, no one scarcely knows that such a thing takes place, and there is no disturbance either before or after the succession, or during the reign, on that account. Where the election is annual, it is a very great cause of disturbance, and party strife, and it is attended with a continual delay and opposition to public business, and to every measure that is for the good of the nation; and when it is frequent, there is nothing but changes, and the country is improperly and injuriously governed. No sooner has one head become acquainted with the movements of the machinery, than he is turned out, and another comes in; and he alters and arranges it his own way, and when he is getting it fairly set a-going, he is turned out, and the nation is never properly set a-going, and there is no good done, and there is nothing but continual discord, disturbance, opposition, and delay. Where there is a kingly government, all parties support and respect it, and no particular party is envious of it. It is different with the temporary head. The opposition are envious of it, and are not content until they get it removed,

Advantages
of hereditary
sovereigns
over elective
ones and pre-
sidents.

and their own party in its place ; but the nation has as much the appointment of the head in a kingly government as in a republican. The prime minister is removed when his measures are not in accordance with the views of the majority ; so long as they are so, he is not unseated, be it one year or be it twenty years, or be it a single day ; and no one knowing when his views may differ from the majority, there is no commotion or disturbance to get one of their own in his place. This is a superiority over republican governments ; and what more frequent a change would they have, than when the head differs from them, he is removed, and so long as he pleases he remains ? and when he displeases, he is not hurriedly displaced, but he gets time to alter or modify his views to theirs, and his position is not one which is placed at the top of the nation, and is not so conspicuous and commanding, and is not so much admired and desired after, from its being a great honour, and there is not that feeling of envy towards him and his party, as if he were the only head of the nation. He may be said to be a servant with a master ; and he is not so much noticed, and there is not such a desire, from motives of greatness, to say that they and their party are king, and rule the nation, and that no one is greater in the kingdom. In every respect, at the present day, the kingly government is the same as the republican ; the people have as much influence and power in the one case, as the other ; but the monarchical government has the superiority of having a king, which does not cause jealousy at his being the head, and is not attended with strife and discord at his election, and he is not a source of constant heart-burning, jealousy, and desire for his removal as a president ; and the majority have the power of getting every thing their own way, as in a republic—what more would they have ? and so long as the minister pleases the majority, he remains, and gets accustomed to the machinery of government ; but the president being a place of honour, and being so conspicuous and commanding, all strive and desire to gain it, from the great honour of being president. The oftener he is elected, the greater harm does it do to the nation ; but it is not so with the appointment of prime minister (unless too frequent), there is no commotion or disturbance.

RUSSIA.

Although at one time the Poles were the bulwark to Europe, and the great opposers, and protectors of Europe against the inroads of the Mahometans, and were a powerful means of preventing it from being overrun by these, and were considered at that time the bravest, most gallant, and polished nation of Europe ; but from their king being elective, they did not keep constantly improving, and keeping up the learning and acquirements they had over other nations, but became weaker and weaker at the election of every sovereign, and at length became a prey in part to Russia ; and when Napoleon forsook them, and was powerless, they were divided between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Instead of this, they ought rather to have made Poland independent, and to have given her a hereditary sovereign, and given her a portion of Prussia to the north-west, which lies on the sea-coast, and she would have had the advantage of being a naval power ; and from the bold, noble, courageous, generous, and acute and talented character of the Poles,

Boundaries of
Russia, Aus-
tria, and Prus-
sia, to preserve
the balance of
power, and for
the benefit of
Europe.

she would have been a powerful means of preventing the encroachments of Russia, as she would have been more than a match for her; and she would have prevented the encroachments of the European powers against Russia; and by sea she could have stopt the Russian fleet with Denmark and Sweden; or all four together might have delayed or stopped those of Europe, and shut up the Baltic. Poland, in such a case, is an effectual barrier between Russia and Austria, or Prussia; but now there is no barrier between these, and time is not given for preparation that might be requisite. War will enter their territories, but it would never have entered their territories, at least it need not if they gave full assistance to Poland. By dismembering Poland amongst themselves, they have not preserved themselves, or strengthened themselves better; neither did they require a portion unless Prussia, which ought to have got Russia's portion for a likely increase in her population, and she would have been more or better balanced with Russia and Austria.

If Austria had got a portion of sea-coast, we would not wonder at her acceding to the dismemberment; but she has not got that which would be so useful to her; but by this dismemberment they destroyed a powerful barrier and protection to themselves, the whole three without exception, and a nation and people who were likelier to be greater, and more powerful than either, but whom they might have kept within her own boundaries by proper treaties amongst themselves and with her. The portion of her which Russia has got is an invaluable acquisition to that power, and will be a powerful means of strengthening her, more than any portion of her own dominions. She has got possession of a brave, a bold, a generous, and a high-spirited, and acute race of men, and she can mix and sprinkle them through her army, and in every department of the State, as they excel the Russians in acuteness, talent, understanding, and in intellect. The Russians, who are naturally of a slow temperament, and by taking care of the Poles, and colonizing them with the Russians, and intermarrying them with these, the race of Russians will be improved; and if the Russians can once gain their fidelity and respect, the Poles will be a powerful barrier against encroachments; but if they cannot gain their fidelity, and they remain a distinct race, and become educated, they will be a powerful assistant means of aggression from Europe—a barrier of considerable extent of educated and industrious Russians between the Poles and Europe, will make a sure and powerful protection to Russia. Many of the border provinces are colonized by Germans; but they will be a powerful means, from their love of their fatherland, and speaking the same language as these, and a different one from the Russians, in joining and assisting in any attack against Russia; and where they are colonized elsewhere, as in the provinces of the Black Sea, and if Russia extends her dominions, there will be a dismemberment of them from its unwieldiness, and from a want of unity in it as a whole, either from the language spoken being in some parts the same as those of Germany, and in other parts, not being Russian, and there is not the same sympathy, and bond of union, and affection, and brotherhood, as where the same language is spoken by them. There is a want of nationality between them. They do not appear to be one and the same people, and the one has

Barriers of
Russia
against en-
cachment.

no sympathy with the other ; and if they are ill or unfairly used, they do not give cheerful and willing assistance, and are likely to assist others than the nation to which they belong. By the Poles being preserved, they will be a powerful means of recruiting all departments of the Russian service, and not be as aliens, or those on whom there is a constant watch set, and who are mistrusted. They are better to breed with than the Germans, who are of a phlegmatic and slow temperament, like the Russians, and all natives who live so far north as they do. No doubt education will improve them.

Russia and
her navy.

If Russia could get a less slow, and a more active race for her navy, she might succeed with it ; but so long as she uses these, she will never be a powerful naval country ; and so long as they must be shut up the half of the year in their harbours. They ought to have a safe naval depot at the south-westernmost part of their dominions, not exactly but very near it, and strengthen that part of their dominions, and beyond and all around it, as Prussia, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, might burn them out and destroy them. If she had a colony of fifty or a hundred thousand Scotchmen colonized throughout her dominions, she might, with her Poles, or a breed between them, have a powerful navy in a generation ; but her frost is a great drawback, although she had the best sailors in the world, and without having an extensive shipping trade and colonies of her own.

AUSTRIA,
HUNGARY, AND
VENICE.

Austria.

Austria, with Poland, if she had been a kingdom and powerful, with Turkey, would have been and are the great natural barriers to the encroachments of Russia.

Austria is one of the most powerful kingdoms of Europe, and is internally so from her great and many internal resources, and the extent of her territory, and is a great antagonist power for opposing aggressions in all directions, and she ought by all means to be upheld and supported in its full integrity as she at present is, as she is the most powerful barrier in preventing the German States from being seized, as well as in assisting Prussia or Turkey against any who may wish to interfere with them. She only requires to act a little more firmly and energetically, and without selfishness. Her great loss is the want of a proper outlet for her resources, which she has in such abundance, and which she can increase to such an extent. Her territories are abundant, and will suit, and fit without inconvenience a great increase of population. It is this abundance of spare territory where to place a superabundant population is the cause of prosperity, quiet, and the non-taxation of a nation ; but where it is wanting, it is a great, and one of the very greatest drawbacks to a nation, and is the great cause of misery, poverty, deep taxation of one kind or another, and disturbance and complaint to a nation.

Venice to
Austria in a
commercial
point of view.

There is no doubt she has sea-coast at Venice, in her Italian dominions, but she has a very mountainous country to surmount before she gets there, and it is too slow and inconvenient for her ; but if she could, by any means overcome this mountainous barrier, she might have a powerful navy, and an extensive outlet for her manufactures. But there is little doubt that levelling and cutting roads, and making railways where it is possible, will greatly hasten and make shorter this barrier, and will add much to their speed and

convenience, and it is well worth their trouble and expense, from the good and benefit it will do to the nation, and as it is absolutely necessary to their improvement and prosperity, although it should cost the Austrians, if it answers the purpose, from fifty millions of pounds and upwards, as it will be an outlet for her manufactures, of which she is capable of employing so many, and enriching herself so much, and she would have a good navy, and the Venetians and her own particular States would supply her with powerful sailors, not inferior to Venice of old, and she might be as conveniently situated to carry the merchandise of the East, which seems to be taking its old route again; but the East is greatly improved. It certainly has turned out well for Europe that Austria got this acquisition, however right it might have been at the time she got it. She ought, therefore, to cherish, foster, and favour the Venetians, and to nationalize and assimilate them to herself, as more, and as useful, and requisite a portion of the Austrian dominions as any. (The Gulf of Trieste might be thought sufficient, but there is no population there, nor a city, and a naval or maritime populace and harbours, as there are at Venice, &c.) But in Austria the people of her dominions speak different languages, and are thus kept as distinct races and people, and they are thus disunited. They are not a whole that can be depended on in the time of need, as if they were one people, using the same language, and having the same habits. In the course of forty or fifty years it is possible to make the same language be generally spoken in their Italian dominions, by administering justice, and in the public offices using German, and encouraging and getting it to be spoken amongst the rich and higher classes. This last is a very great means, as all imitate them and follow their example; and teaching it in the schools, and giving rewards to those who are the best German scholars, and encouraging it, and making it fashionable to be spoken in the upper ranks and elsewhere, and the lower orders will imitate them, and by calling and making the native language vulgar, this has a great effect in preventing and encouraging a language to be spoken, and promoting those to offices who can speak the German language. If the same plan were followed in the Hungarian dominions of Austria, it would have a better chance of success, and is more necessary to be done than in Venice, although, as the great and only shipping port of Austria, it is necessary for the quick and convenient despatch of business, and it is likely better to preserve the full integrity of the Austrian empire, and her connection with this most important part of her empire, which contains such a brave and powerful means of defence. Now the German language is very well known in Hungary, but of late years it has been considered more patriotic, if it may be so called, to use the Hungarian language. What can be the cause of this desire to speak their native language of a sudden? It is difficult to give one, except it gave them an appearance of independence: there was no particular objection to it formerly. It shews a spirit of disaffection or alienation to the Austrians and the German language, and will at any rate lead to it. At one time, in Great Britain itself, five distinct and different languages were spoken—one in Wales, one in England, one in the Lowlands of Scotland, another

To nationalize and assimilate the Venetians to the Austrians.

HUNGARY.

Austria and Hungary.

Variety of languages spoken in Great Britain.

Disadvantages to Hungary and Austria in the Hungarians not speaking German.

in the Highlands of Scotland, and another in Ireland, and we believe another in the Isle of Man, called Manx; such a variety of languages does not add to the unity of a kingdom, and for the despatch of justice, or improvement and communication of any kind. Now English is the language generally spoken by all, and England is the dominant kingdom, and was disliked by all, but all found the necessity of speaking the language of the country which was wealthiest, and of greatest extent, and none thought, or think now, that it shews any subserviency or want of patriotism, on their parts, in speaking English; but they found it was necessary for their private interests, and business both at home and abroad, where the English language was known, that there should be only one language; many still speak these languages, but they do not think it independent or unpatriotic to speak English, and have their children educated in English. Now the Hungarian, from not being a generally spoken language like German, which may be said to be spoken by all Europe, and Hungarian not at all, it will be a drawback to the Hungarians for business generally with Europe and Austria; it only shews ignorance on the part of those who persist in it, and shews that they are no friends to Hungary, but are delaying her improvement, and are acting as children, without a knowledge of the circumstances that are requisite for the good of their country: they are striving to keep up the ideal for the reality. In Great Britain the language at one time spoken by the higher ranks, and that used in State affairs, and in the administration of justice, was French; at another time, and for a long period, the language employed in the law courts was Latin, and that in primitive times; but when civilization and improvement dawned, they gradually began to use the English language, as being that principally spoken, and most convenient for all; and when Scotland was joined to England, on account of English being spoken by the greater number of the nation, that language was adopted by all, and by the minor portion, as less inconvenience would arise to the smaller portion adopting the language of the greater portion, than if the larger number adopted the language of the smaller. Without unity of language in a State, confusion, and mistakes, and delays, and great retardation of business, law, and justice, are sure to take place; and it would therefore be better for the Hungarians, and other States of Austria, to adopt the Austrian or German language, or whatever language is spoken by the majority; but as German is the language of the majority, it ought, and is necessary that it should be spoken, but also as it is the language of other nations, it ought on that account to be spoken (this unity of language is equally applicable to other nations). It is only rude and uncivilized countries, and countries only becoming civilized, that are so prejudiced, and keep up such hurtful distinctions and evils, and they thus only prolong their want of prosperity and improvement. It would be as well to put a stop to this cause of their considering themselves as quite a different race from the Austrians, and make them consider themselves as a part of, and as one and the same people; because, if they consider themselves as a distinct people, they will lose their sympathy and relationship to and for the Austrians, and will wish for a king of their own, and will join any

enemy of the Austrians, as they have an assembly of their own in which they speak the Hungarian language. Now as the people have made it more fashionable to speak the Hungarian language, and vulgar and unpatriotic to speak the German language, if the Hungarians wish, or have a desire, either at present or afterwards, it is of no use thinking of it, or attempting it: they might get rid of being a part of the Austrian empire, but it is not likely; but if they did, they are too small a kingdom, so near Russia, to maintain themselves single-handed against that power, and they have no neighbours to amalgamate or join with, but whom Russia would be able to swallow both up; therefore it is only by a strict, and firm union with Austria that they can prosper, or preserve their independence. They are not dependent on Austria at present; Austria is as dependent on Hungary as she is on Austria, and both are requisite and necessary to the other, although Austria is less so, and it is therefore a want of knowledge of the world, and of legislation, and of good government, and liberality on the part of those who would separate, and distinguish into two, by means of a separate language, one and the same kingdom. Take a look at Ireland—she does not benefit Great Britain, she is an expense to her, and Great Britain could do without her, but yet she is necessary to Great Britain and Great Britain to her; and the sooner Hungary gives up these petty and puerile distinctions, the better for themselves and Austria. What good does their language do to them? It is a piece of pride, or if you will, veneration or love of home, or old associations, but in a worldly point of view, it is extremely hurtful to themselves and all. It would be as well for the good of Europe, as well as for the benefit of the Austrian empire, if by simple and gradual means, and without force and imperceptibly, the German language became common, and the Hungarian uncommon, and confined to remote districts. Railways and the more frequent communications of the Germans with the Hungarians, and their travelling more frequently, will be a great assistant in putting down the Hungarian language, as it will be an inconvenient language for those who travel to, and through Hungary on business or pleasure, as most who do so will understand German but not Hungarian, and the Hungarians will learn German and make one language do for all, as it is most convenient; and by having the children of the nobility, and the gentry educated and instructed in the German language, and giving high rewards to those who are the best German scholars, and by the nobles encouraging and speaking German, all others will follow the example. It was by the nobility and gentry encouraging the people to use the Hungarian language that made it become the principal language; but by making German fashionable amongst tradesmen in towns and elsewhere and amongst the nobility, it will without force gradually supersede the Hungarian language. The great error was to allow the assembly to speak the Hungarian language, as it encourages those attending it to keep up their knowledge of the language, and setting an example of it to the country; but in time they may stop it, but it will not be until the German language becomes common throughout the country, and the Hungarian is the vulgar language. All the government offices might be stopt from speaking the Hunga-

Great injury
 of separating
 Hungary, &c.,
 from Austria,
 to Europe and
 to themselves.

rian language ; and as a means of effecting this, all who hold them ought to be able to speak German as well as Hungarian, as the great communication by railways with Germany requires that they should know it ; and in time the Hungarian may be dropt, and those put in who do not know it, but until all the Austrian dominions are united under one language, and one government (we will not say the same, as being a weaker portion she requires some benefit over the stronger portion of the empire) she cannot be called a united kingdom, and she cannot depend for support on all parts of her dominions in the time of need, and it is for the good of Europe that she should be firm and secure in all her present dominions. (The same principles are applicable to the other parts of Austria.)

Injurious
effects of
having too
large posses-
sions.

Many kingdoms desire to get new additions to their empire, but such ought to firm, strengthen, and consolidate what they already have, by all known means that are right and lawful. Some are afraid at liberal institutions, that is, giving the people a certain power in ruling the country, be that power more or less ; it is arbitrary sovereigns who fear this, but it is the nature of education, and the advanced state of civilization at which we have arrived, to make a people desire liberal institutions ; and unless you educate them, they fall behind all other nations in science, as well as wealth and improvements of all kinds ; and if they are educated, it is not in the power of any sovereign to be able to withhold their desires for liberal institutions ; and if he does not accede to their desires they will dethrone him. A sovereign may be opposed to it, but the people will have it, and he must yield.

Cause of
Spain's want
of prosperity.

The great cause of Spain's continued destruction and unnatural fighting against each other, and her civil war, and constant warfare, and destruction of all, and the cause of delaying and preventing the prosperity of Spain, is the present Queen of Spain's ascending and being raised to the throne at her father's death, and this was contrary to the always and long-recognised law of Spain. It was made a law by the influence of the king her father, to the prejudice of his brother's sons, and contrary to the long-established law of Spain. They had no precedent for to allow of a girl being put on the throne, when there were so many male-heirs so near in blood as nephews of the king on the throne. In the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, when Spain, before their union, was divided into two kingdoms, and when they were married they were joint sovereigns of Spain. On the death of Ferdinand and Isabella, her daughter succeeded to the throne, but she was silly ; and when her son Charles wished her to resign the throne and take her place, but those who assisted and directed the nation in her name would not permit of her losing the title of queen, and although he got the power, he ruled in her name. The reason of her ruling was, that her mother possessed the half of the kingdom in her own right ; but it seems, that for a length of time, the succession has been settled on heirs-male. Now in the case of the Spanish sovereign, we believe, according to the old law of Spain, she was not legal successor, so long as there are heirs-male to the throne ; and we do not believe the nation has any right to alter the succession so long as this is the case, and so long as the heirs-male are ready to agree to the conditions which are asked of them when they ascend the

Evils arising
from altering
the succes-
sion.

throne. If there had been no heirs-male so near as cousins or third cousins, and when the sovereign was in his prime, and when he was without issue, or when he had no chance of issue, or when he had male issue, and no male or female issue, or if the sons, and the next in succession after them, say their cousins, were to agree and to approve of a law being made to that effect, and the rest of the nation, we would not then wonder at a law being made legalizing females to ascend the throne, as it might be made to prevent disturbances afterwards, if no near heirs-male might be had to ascend the throne, or when the right heir-male could not be distinguished, as it would prevent disputes, and from its being made when there was no appearance of it happening, all would agree, and none would feel personally hurt by it, and as there is not the same necessity for excluding females, as there was in the warlike and barbarous days when a warlike person was required. But it only gives the nation the right of altering the succession again, if they should not be satisfied with any of their sovereigns. It is a very bad, and dangerous precedent. It would never do; you might as well alter the succession of property granted to male-heirs or to female-heirs, and by a law of the Legislature, to please interested parties, alter it, or they might change the succession at any time when any powerful party thought it necessary; but if there were no permanent law, there would be no security for the subject, and there would be no dependence on the law, and property and life would not be secure. In the same way the succession to a throne. The setting aside the succession to a throne, when it has been the law for hundreds of years, to alter it all of a sudden without any cause or reason, and without any one, and the nation thinking, or believing there was any necessity for it. If the king's brother's sons had committed treason, or rebelled against the crown, they could in this case have passed those who did this, and the heirs of their body (heirs of their body born after their treason) but if they had brothers or cousins who had a right to the throne, they could not set aside these.

Such a change in the succession ought to be made where there is no chance of the male succession failing; and if at any time it does fail, then the people are prepared to carry this law into effect, and they know and believe it is the law of the land; and if any one has any objection to it, they can protest against it, and try to get it repealed, but it is likely by the time the male succession fails, all will have an equal interest and desire to allow of the female succession. There can be no doubt without the consent of the next male heir and his family, that the succession cannot be altered by the nation, but if the next male heir and his family agree to it, and the nation, there is little doubt that it may in that case be passed into a law; but even then, if his family die before they come to the throne, it is apt to cause disturbance about the succession by the next male heirs. There is little doubt that the nation has a right to use any government they choose; but the frequently changing the form of the government is attended with so much harm to a nation, by the endeavours of those who are opposed to such measures, always trying, and endeavouring to bring matters as they were; and where the succession has been altered, the nation, or those who have as-

cended the throne, never get rest, but are kept in a constant state of warfare and disquiet, and all commerce and prosperity are destroyed, and when a new succession takes place, the old and legal heirs are ready to contest the succession. There is little doubt that a nation, if all agree, may alter the succession to the throne, if they think proper; but it is a right which is highly prejudicial to the interests of all, and to the world, and is one which ought not to be used unless the other heirs agree to it; as it is destructive to the welfare, happiness, and prosperity of a nation, it should be laid down as a principle, that the succession ought not to be altered without the agreement of the rightful and usual heirs, and that notice of such an alteration should be given for 10 years before it is carried into effect, or even debated in the national assembly; and if there is much dispute about it, and if a large body of the nation do not agree to it, although the majority do, yet when the alteration does take place, there are always plenty who once approved of it by not getting the benefit, or the bribe they expected; and it is impossible to please all, they become the greatest enemies to the wrong succession, and they keep the nation in a constant ferment; this may be seen in the case of the Spanish nation. We think that where there is a desire to change the succession, and allow of females succeeding to the throne, that the nation ought to refer it to half a dozen, or eight of the crowned heads of Europe, and their councils; and if the nation, and a majority of 4 out of the six, or 5 out of the eight, agree to it, it might then be passed into a law. But with regard to the interference of a nation in altering the succession and government, or constitution of a nation, some law ought to be laid down to prevent such injurious, and hurtful changes, stating that no such alteration can take place, and that it ought to be regulated, and that a certain time, say ten years, ought to elapse before such a question can be debated, and brought before the consideration, and for the decision of the nation. If the sovereign should die before that time, the male heir ought to succeed, and the question debated and decided at the time appointed, and by this means many will have time to think well over it, and not to be influenced by promises, or from disappointments, or mistakes, some such plan ought to be laid down.

Disputes about, or changes of the succession, ought to be referred to crowned heads.

A King has no right to alter the succession.

A king has no power to hand his right from himself to a son, other than the next in succession, or to a daughter instead of his son, unless the real heir, and if he has children, give up their right, nor has he any right to give up his title to the crown, and that of his family, in favour of another; if they do not all agree, and unless there is something defective about the intellect of any heir to a throne, his title ought not to be set aside in favour of the next heir, or of any other branch; but not even in this case, so long as a regency can be appointed, as it is more than any thing else a constant, and fruitful source of strife, contention, discord, and civil war, and a nation is never at rest; and as the kingly government is one which has been found to be better fitted than any other for all the purposes of a head of a nation, it ought to be fixed on as permanent principles as any other succession, and the deviation, and constant, and continual alteration in successions of any kind, would be attended with the breaking up of the institutions, and social order,

and well-being, and laws, and all justice of any kingdom ; there would be no permanency, or safety to property, or life in any kingdom, if there were not a fixed and settled rule of succession, altered as certain circumstances might require it.

In case of a revolution where the succession is altered, on account of the misconduct of a king, or from the nation thinking so, we think, in such a case, they ought not to alter the succession, any farther than to appoint the next heir. Of course, a son of the person dethroned, if he has one, and if either is a minor, they ought to appoint a regency ; and there is no difference between this and putting a person of sound mind in the place of a weak or idiotic person. This is better than altering the succession ; this is apt to cause disputes by the old heirs during the new king or queen's lifetime ; and at their death all the restless spirits of the nation, who have gained nothing by the change, and those who are friends of the right heirs, are ready to rise and contest the succession, and commit much bloodshed, civil war, and injury to the nation, and the whole mass of the people lose that respect and forbearance to an altered succession, which they have hereditarily to the old and legitimate kings, and they thus lose the respect for the kingly government.

As to the interference of one nation with another, or the right which any, or all of the nations of Europe have to interfere with any other one, we really do not see any right they have to do so, unless they are interfering with any other nation, and unless they have entered into a treaty to assist it. As to any right of interfering with it without being asked, they have no right to interfere. As to interference with a nation when it is altering or modifying its constitution, or when a part of the people are attempting to dethrone the sovereign, no nation has a right to interfere in such a case to assist either party. But if we see another nation interfering, we have a right, as good as they have, for interfering in the internal affairs of a nation ; and we ought to assist the nation so far as not to allow this nation to do any injury to either party. We have no right to interfere with any nation in their internal affairs, so far as they do not interfere with our affairs, or with treaties which they may have with us. There is little doubt this is the right of the matter. Why did we not interfere to prevent the dismemberment of Poland ? It was not for the good of Europe. Why, in the name of wonder, did we allow of an old and ancient ally, like the Hollanders, to get the half of their dominions taken from them ? Why did we allow Greece to become independent ? Why did we not allow Mehemet Ali to become independent ? Why do we interfere with some that do not require it, as Mehemet Ali ?—and why do we not interfere with some who require it, as Poland, and especially in the case of Belgium ? Belgium was a case where we ought to have assisted Holland ; but we had no right to interfere, but where we see others interfering to dismember an old ally. We also have a right to interfere and support our old ally, and prevent the dismemberment of his kingdom ; but where the people dismember themselves, without the assistance and interference of any other nation, we ought to let them do so. We have no right to interfere. Perhaps they may have been ill-used, and they have a

right to separate themselves. The separation of Belgium was the greatest blunder that was ever committed. When Holland and she were one nation, they together were a powerful means and check on the hostile movements of France. Holland was a constant check on her; but now, from the enmity of Holland and Belgium, she could soon entirely destroy Holland, and possess herself of it, and seize, or keep under control, Belgium; and she could then, without fear or hindrance on the side of Belgium, carry her arms either to Germany or to Spain. But while she had Holland to watch, it divided her force, and distracted her attention, and doubly employs her. A hostile foe could get an entrance into France through Holland, but they cannot now, as she may be said to have the power over her, and to be master of Belgium.

Belgium ought never to have been separated from Holland. Every endeavour ought to have been employed by Britain to get redress for Belgium, if they were injured by Holland. If she seemed likely to get the better of Holland, and if Holland would not agree to what was reasonable, they ought to let them take their chance; but we ought to have assisted them, or any other nation so circumstanced, if any foreign power were assisting the rebels. There is no doubt, however beneficial it may be to the general interests of Europe to interfere in the private, and internal rule and affairs of a nation, still, as a matter of right, we have no power to do so, unless all the powers of Europe are under some agreement to preserve the kingly power, and to prevent the dismemberment of any part of the dominions of any of the kingdoms of Europe, and of each other; that they have no right to interfere in the private affairs of any nation, and they ought not to interfere in the dismemberment, or separation of any part by that part itself, because the parent portion has unjustly used her. They ought first to get justice done to the part separated, if they think it reasonable; and if they cannot get redress, they ought to allow of the separation; but if they find it is not reasonable, they ought to prevent a separation. They ought also to agree not to permit of the dismemberment, or appropriation of any part by any nation composing this associated body; but if they have any grievance, or sustained any loss, or been insulted in any way by any nation, if that nation will not give satisfaction, or denies its right to do so, the case ought to be left to the decision of the associated powers, and it ought to be settled as a majority of them decide; and they ought to compel and enforce redress in any way but that of separation, or disjoining a portion of its territory; if by money, they can pay it with an army, and make them also pay the expense of such an army. Where any power does not join this alliance, they must be left to themselves, or to treaties which they may make with any of the powers in the usual way. We do not know how it is, but there is no regular rule or law laid down, common to all nations, with regard to when we should interfere in the affairs of other nations than our own. Some of the nations advocate one thing one time, when it suits them; then they are opposed to it another time, when it does not suit them, or in the case of another, for they appropriate territory in their own case, and oppose others appropriating it. The powerful do as they like, and the weak must do what is convenient

to the powerful to dictate : there is no regular or general rule, or principle, or law laid down.

The remarks which we have applied to Spain are in general applicable to Portugal, and as to their being united into one sovereignty, it would be very injurious to the interests of both, and of Europe.

The small German and Italian States ought to remain as they are, or nearly so, as they are highly useful for counteracting invasion of the larger States. If the German States were united into one, this one might assist Prussia against Austria, or Austria against Prussia, or unite with France against Prussia, &c.; but being divided into many States, opinions and interests are divided, and they are not so powerful singly, but more powerful as divided, than a united State. Being divided, and being placed as they are in the heart of Europe, they can make a strong opposition, and assist any single State or nation against the others. Joining Austria as one State, they would ruin Prussia; but as all will not agree when in separate States, a few joining Austria would not effect the end; and being separate, they watch their neighbours and destroy their movements. In the same way Italy.

We do not know how it was, but we somehow or other committed a very great error, and wrong and injustice, in the case of the opium affair in China. The Emperor, with a true regard for the good of his subjects, and with the advice of his council, prohibited the introduction of opium into his dominions; but the British, although they knew it was forbidden, persisted in introducing it, and at length the Emperor seized immense quantities of it, and the opium merchants complained of this seizure to the British government, and demanded redress, either in the shape of their opium, or its full value; and the British government supported them, and considered it legal, and were put to great expense on this account, and caused a very enormous expense to the Chinese, who were in the right, and made them pay for the opium, and the expenses of the expedition; when the Chinese were in the right, they had the right to prohibit any thing they pleased from being introduced into China. They prohibited this for a long time, and the opium merchants knew it, as they only introduced it by stealth, and the Chinese seized it in the same way as we would seize a piece of, or a quantity of foreign lace, or smuggled tobacco, however large or small, without those from whom it had been taken having the least redress, or the nation to which they belonged having the right to get redress. The cases are exactly similar; they were smugglers, and had to take their chance the same as smugglers. But in the case of Britain, it is for defrauding the revenue; in the case of the Chinese, it was for a far better and purer motive,—it was to prevent the immoral, and demoralizing, and hurtful effects of using opium by the Chinese. Where a nation has laws of its own, however opposed they may be to ours, or even to reason, or common sense, or to those of all other nations, we have no right to interfere, or to attempt to break, infringe, or evade these laws, unless we have a treaty which exempts us from being affected by them in our intercourse with that nation; and if we have not, if we break them on the territory of that nation, we must bear the penalty which the subjects of that nation are liable to for infringing them, especially if they have a previous knowledge of such laws.

There can be little doubt we ought to have a large piece of territory, or island, or both, near and at our principal place of traffic with the Chinese, for the protection of our subjects there, and it ought to be healthy, and large, and well supplied with water, and of a good soil, with good harbours, and well fortified, as our frequent quarrels or mistakes with the Chinese require it; and from our extensive trade with them, and our subjects in China, if they were likely to be overcome by the Chinese, might have a place of safety to resort to, as well as to wait opportunities favourable for our commercial dealings; and the Chinese knowing we had assistance at hand, it would not be so likely to attempt to injure us. It is always as well, where there is a probability of disputes arising, to have a good military force in readiness, where British faith and forbearance is not a sufficient guarantee for protection; and it is a sure means to make it be respected, and having a good effect, and of its not being taken advantage of; it will not do to trust to the good faith of others.

VARIOUS SUBJECTS BEFORE
THE PUBLIC.

Pretended
rights of the
public injuri-
ous.

There are apt to arise amongst the multitude hasty, and injudicious, and hurtful opinions with regard to what is right, and they often hurt themselves by their hasty, thoughtless, and selfish opinions. The multitude wish to do away with the game-laws, which regulate the hunting of game; and this is an amusement or pastime for the wealthy, and for which permission they pay a certain yearly sum to the State, and benefit all by the money which they pay for being allowed the liberty, and they can afford to pay for it; and if this were done away with, the license-money would be lost to the State, and the free permission to shoot would benefit no one, as most, when they have free permission, do not use it; and if all had free permission, there would be a total destruction of game; and if the tenant had only permission, the landlord would so fetter him with conditions before granting him a lease, that he would not get permission to kill game.

GAME LAWS.

The multitude, and the nation generally, will be no better off if licenses were done away with, or if a right were given to tenants to shoot on the ground they had taken. In such a case they would give permission to all to shoot on it, and the game would soon be destroyed. So far as the nation are to be benefited, they might as well let the game-laws remain as they are. Landlords will have game if they like, and will so preserve it, that no one will get at it any more than they can at present, and less so. They will preserve it the same as fowls, or any other property, and will rear it, and sell it, and prohibit all from touching it, or coming on their grounds, if all get permission to kill game; and they alone will be benefited by not having to pay a license, and the public will be the losers by losing the money for these licenses; and what will be a great harm to them, all will be strictly prohibited from going on the grounds and plantations of the gentry, or possessors of land, to take exercise, and to take a walk or saunter, and to amuse and enjoy themselves, and to lay in a supply of fresh air and health; and instead of being allowed to roam at large through fields, they will be prohibited, and will be confined to dusty roads, and if they are found walking on property, they will be fined for trespass; and if any take or kill game, as it is private, and saleable, and purchaseable property, they will be taken up for theft, the same as stealing a sheep, or a goose, or a hen, or any article of property. The public will, instead of being better, be a great deal the worse of the repeal

of the game-laws. We have only looked at it to see the benefit the nation generally will derive from a repeal of the game-laws.

The public complain of the great expenses, and what they consider unnecessary expenses, and as an instance and a very important one, they complain of their being too many judges in the Scotch Court, and that their salaries are too high.

JUDGES.

Now, it is necessary that the judges of the land should be men who are truly just and upright, and who judge and give judgment according to the best of their judgment, and knowledge and experience of the law. A judge cannot be too good, or too conversant and learned in the law. They ought to be the best lawyers in the land, as so much matter of importance to life and property depends on their giving a true decision, and award, and judgment to the right. Where this is not the case, it is apt to be attended with great and serious consequences to all, both in life and property; and we cannot, therefore, have too good, and the best and most eminent lawyers for judges. Now, to get the best lawyers you must pay them well, as if you do not, you will not get good judges; they may decide wrong, and you may lose the means of living, or your property or your life by the decision of an ignorant, and unsound judge. Now, the salaries of the Scotch judges do not come near to the sum that they yearly make at the bar as lawyers, before they are generally raised to the bench or judgeship. Before this some may make three or four times the yearly sum they get as judges by being lawyers, and this may continue more or less at this rate from ten to twenty years, and even longer; and it cannot therefore be expected that they will give up this, for a very much lower salary as a judge. It is therefore necessary to give good salaries. Many good lawyers refuse judgeships, and prefer their own lucrative practice at the bar, to the to them small salary of a judge.

They say there are too many judges, thus entailing great and unnecessary expense on the country; but judges are of such importance for settling, and arbitrating, and deciding disputes, for laying down and explaining the laws of the land, which are requisite for the maintenance of right over wrong, and for deciding what is right and wrong according to laws founded on those of the Scripture, and others in accordance with these, but which are required for peculiar cases and circumstances, and there are certain laws laid down for these; but in many cases he must judge according to equity, truth, and uprightness, in many cases where there is no particular law for peculiarities in cases; and it is necessary they should be men of a sound and true judgment, and who have a clear idea of right and wrong. Judges are educated for the purpose, and are necessary for the good of the country, so long as there is crime and disputes; and so long as man is as he truly is, always disputing and quarrelling, it is requisite to keep up more judges than are required, to administer the ordinary proportion of justice that is required. There is great harm and injury done to all by the delay of justice, and there is great harm and injury done by justice being given too hurriedly and quickly, to get over a number of cases, as in such a case we are very apt not to get a true and sound judgment; and again, by justice being too long delayed, many and their families are ruined, and destroyed from waiting so long for it, and being

Necessity of
having more
judges than
are at all
times re-
quired.

without the means of keeping themselves until the case is settled ; besides, it keeps many in a state of long and painful anxiety, perhaps worse to be borne than a decision in favour of their opponent.

We do not know what circumstances might arise to delay the quick, yet true administration of justice. There may arise a few intricate and difficult cases which require long, and tedious searchings into to unravel the whole truths of the case, and to get at the true statement. These cases may be few, but they cause long and tedious delay, and they may require all the wisdom and knowledge of men and of the law, and all the judges, to give a decision regarding them, and all other cases will require to wait ; or you may have simple and easily-decided cases, but they may be so numerous that they take up much time. It is therefore necessary to have more judges than are really required generally, but it is necessary to have them to be ready for such tedious, and intricate, as well as a thronging of or numerous cases as may arise suddenly. Sometimes there may be for months that one or two judges might do all that is required ; but again, there are times when a great many more than there are may be required for the rest of the time, and it is for these overflowings of cases, that it is necessary to have more judges than are required generally. It is great folly on the part of the nation wishing to overcrowd judges with cases, and hurry them over, and administer justice improperly, and cause increased expense to the country by appealing to the English law-courts, and delaying the administration of justice there by the number of appeals sent up, and the judges there are found too few to administer justice with calmness and truth.

We do not know when a circumstance may arise to cause an increase of cases, and we ought to be prepared for such. We know the number of increased cases, and tedious cases, which have arisen from railway disputes, and which have taken up so much time, some other thing may arise to cause a like increase, and it is therefore better for all ; and as all wish to get justice, and to save themselves and the country a greater expense, it is necessary to have always more judges than are generally used, or requisite ; it is necessary to have some ready when one or more takes ill ; and there are many circumstances which require that there should be more judges than are generally and ordinarily required.

Decision of
the law of
Scotland.

It is very curious the way in which the law of Scotland decides some cases, as, for instance, where a person has had a natural child, a son, by a woman ; the man marries another woman and has children by her—this wife dies, and he marries the woman who had a natural child to him, and at his death this son succeeds before the children of his first wife, who are girls ; and this right over the first wife's daughters has been given them in order that the father may do a moral act of justice to the mother of the natural child. Now, we think there is some injustice to the first wife by this state of the law, as she marries the husband with the expectation, that she and her children will get all that her husband is possessed of, at least they will have a prior claim ; and she would never have married him if she thought that any would have a prior claim before her children ; and she may not know that her husband has a natural child, with a living mother, as, if she knew this, and knew the law of the case,

she would bind her husband's property to her children before the other child, or she might not marry him. This law may no doubt be doing, or attempting to encourage the husband to do justice, or to do a moral action or right, but it is doing injustice to the first wife and her children. A natural son ought, in the case of daughters or boys by the first marriage, to rank as a girl, and to get an equal share with girls; and this answers the moral ends, and without doing an injury to the first wife and her children.

There are many who complain of the expense of keeping a large army, and even any army at all; but there is great absurdity in the last idea; man must be greatly changed and made better, and more superior in his nature, before this can happen; but at present it is necessary for our protection and defence against other nations, as well as ourselves internally. Where would we be if we had no internal military force to protect our property against rioting, especially in times of dull trade and scarcity? and so long as these occur, and people's natures are the same as at present, a military force is requisite. It has been said that the keeping up of the higher military officers is expensive, but the pay of these is not so great as their high rank, and long services, and the sphere they have to move in on account of their appointments require.

There is sometimes a difficulty with regard to promotions; and in the case of commanders-in-chief of districts, but especially of Great Britain, there are apt to be heart-burnings, and jealousy from the appointment of a junior soldier, as it may happen he may be more eminent from his military services than senior officers, and he may at the time of his appointment hold perhaps the next greatest military appointment, and be a friend of the ministers or government, and this appointment gives rise to complaints from older, and we might say, equally eminent officers; often where there is little difference in the merits and qualifications of a number of officers, as well as in rank, it is difficult to decide, as there may be some more eminent than others, but who perhaps are just getting at that time of life when they will soon be too old to undergo the fatigues and the duties of the office; and it is impossible to appoint younger officers without creating jealousy. In such a case, where many have equal qualifications, they ought to settle it amongst themselves. If a minister is doubtful which to appoint by any simple means, however simple, as by casting lots, or any such plan, however vulgar it might appear; but where there is difficulty, three or four old companions, where each does not just like to give it up to the other; but where there is a difficulty, as there must be, in the appointment of a commander-in-chief of Great Britain, they ought to appoint some of the royal family who are military, and there is not the same heart-burnings and jealousy at his appointment, as of one of their own companions being appointed over their head, and it is a station which is fitting any of the royal family. In the course of a few years the Duke of Cambridge's son, who has served in the army in all situations for a number of years, and who has gradually risen, and who now commands the forces in the Dublin district—a very important command, and one where he is likely to have every opportunity of learning the duties necessary to fit him for commander-in-chief, besides having served frequently in other districts of

ARMY, ITS
EXPENSE.

Difficulty of
deciding the
preferment of
who is to be
commander-
in-chief.

Ireland during times of commotion, by being commander of the forces in Ireland or Scotland, he could then be made commander-in-chief of Great Britain, or before this of some of the colonies, as the Canadas. In the same way, where there is a difficulty in filling up a high appointment, a member of the royal family could be appointed. If for instance they were to take from Ireland the lord-lieutenant, the commander of the forces there might have that appointment at the same time ; but we think it better as it is.

Disbanding of
national
guards, &c.

Militia, national or civic guards, or any popular force in capitals or large towns, which we know by experience have, or will join the mob in a riot, or in a revolution, or which has frequently caused revolution, ought to be disbanded. In some countries this might raise disturbances, but it might be done quietly, as they might not be brought out to drill in quiet times, and only have few reviews, and at length both might cease ; and also when their uniform was worn out, no other should be given them, or the old might be got back to be altered, and never returned ; and where you cannot disband them, their uniform ought to be as unmilitary-like as it is possible, and the military will not be so likely to look on them as brethren, and fraternise with them if they should join the mob.

PUBLIC CLAIM-
ING RIGHTS
WHERE THEY
DO NOT EXIST.

The public frequently consider they have rights where they really have not the smallest particle of right, and frequently encroach on private property, and the privacy of others, and when they are prevented, make a great noise about being abused, and injustice done to them. We wish the public generally to get as much liberty and freedom as it is possible, to go into and through the grounds of others, as a source of health and recreation ; but we do not wish them to claim a right to it, because they have some thirty or forty years ago got only a permission, as a favour, to go through them. Such an alteration of the case is a means of preventing others from allowing them a permission to go into their grounds, lest they turn it into a right, and abuse and trouble them when they withdraw this permission from private reasons—it may be from some of the family not being in a state to see strangers, or being timid or frightened at strangers ; or it may be from having frequent visitors, who wish to enjoy the privacy of retirement, and who may be there for their health ; or it may be from some having made an improper use of the permission, either by being rude to any of those belonging to the estate, or from having damaged the property in some way or other, or from vagabonds or blackguards coming about the place ; or it may be they have game or cattle which they do not wish disturbed ; or it may be that they are wild, and will hurt strangers and visitors ; or they may wish to live retired, and do not enjoy their retirement if strangers or others come on their grounds ; and they may be naturally of a retiring disposition, and that they may have toiled long and hard to get the means of enjoying themselves, and buying this property ; and who therefore has a right to blame them from not permitting strangers and visitors to come on their property ? We see what a noise the British public generally make on any one trying, or attempting to encroach on their rights. A Briton's house has been proudly said to be his castle, and his private property must be the same. And if

any one creates for himself an amusement in his house, or in his garden, or on his own property, and if any one's intruding on it, or in it spoils this amusement, or enjoyment, or source of pleasure, or health, who has any right or business to complain, or to say that he has no right to prevent it being done, however injurious it may be to science or the fine arts, so long as it is his private property, as it may be his only source of pleasure, and amusement, and health, and enjoyment, which you are disturbing and destroying; and it may be that he is of a dissipated temperament, and if he had not this amusement, he might take to these habits, and the happiness of his tenantry and his family might be destroyed, as well as his own health, by your intrusion and destruction of his privacy. But frequently permissions are not granted from real churlishness; and there are many circumstances which ought to have an impression on proprietors, and make them grant permission to pass through their grounds, and they might fix stated days or periods when such permissions would be granted, and they might then be out of the way, or prevent damage being done. There are circumstances when an encroachment is allowable, and where a refusal, unless under some particular circumstances which we do not know at present, would shew a great want of liberality, and a want of education, and a desire to promote and encourage science, which is injurious, and shews a great want of taste: for instance, it may be some peculiar kind of rock, or strata, or formation of the earth, which has taken place ages back, which gives a reason, and shews the cause and manner in which our globe has been formed; or it may be that there are some rare wood, plants, or herbs there which have some peculiar virtue, or property, or appearance, and by which we may learn and be able to cure disease, and to alleviate pain and suffering; and it may happen that the proprietor himself may linger in pain and illness from the want of knowledge of this department of science, or from the want of practice of those who belong to this department of science, on which we are all so dependent, and which is so necessary for all, that its professors should be acquainted thoroughly and perfectly with, but from being kept out of grounds and country places, they lose the opportunity of learning, and practising, and perfecting themselves in this useful, and necessary branch of science. We speak generally, and we say that all ought to allow such at least to visit their grounds at times. They may do injury, but, on the whole, the advantage you receive is greater than the injury, if injury it is, only that of a frolic more than that of ill-will; it may be that it has been done by chance, or it may be that some artist who has heard of something famous on your property, as a fine landscape, or view of some gorgeous and magnificent scenery, wishes all to know it, as few are permitted to visit it, and it is more than probable that you yourself are a great admirer of paintings and the fine arts, and that you support and encourage it, and yet you would prevent the artist from learning his art, and making himself proficient to pander to your taste, as well as to support himself. We think it a pity that all should be debarred; some at least ought to get permission to visit such places. We do not, however, approve of the public pretending to have a right where they have not, and encroaching where they are not wished; but where anything more

than usual is to be seen of the beauties of nature, and where it is to be beneficial to the arts and sciences, and to health, gentlemen ought to have the good sense, and taste, and liberality, to grant permission to visit their grounds, when it is asked in a proper manner.

PLEDGING OF
VOTES.

Pledging
electors to
vote, and in-
jury of giving
pledges.

When pledges
may be
broken.

Electors often give their votes to a candidate before Parliament is dissolved, and pledge themselves to vote for him at the election for a member to represent them in Parliament. Now there are many who consider this pledge binding, and if they were to vote for any other person than that person to whom they have pledged themselves, they consider that it would be immoral and a breaking of their word and of the truth. Now they consider this pledge binding, although another person comes forward to try to represent them, and whose political principles are more in accordance with that of their own, but which are much at variance with that of the person to whom they have pledged themselves. Now, we do not, according to truth and morality, consider their first pledge binding; but to prevent many who considered it so from doing injury to their principles, and their country, and what they consider right, we would advise them not to pledge themselves to any. It is unreasonable to think, because any one promises to a person that he will vote for him, and him alone, and for no other, it is quite absurd and erroneous, as it may happen they do it, as they may thoughtlessly consider that no other person will come forward who advocates their principles, or they never think anything about the matter, or it may be that there is another, and this makes them think the more that there will be no others, and it happens that the one they have pledged themselves to, comes nearer to their way of thinking, as it is termed, than his opponent; but it happens that another comes forward within a week or two of the election, and this one is entirely of their way of thinking, or of their principles, but as they have already pledged themselves, they think it would be breaking their word to vote for him. Now it is erroneous to think so, as it is an understood thing, at least it ought to be so, and it is impossible to be otherwise, and no person of common sense could think otherwise, that if you pledge yourself to a person who says that he will do away with endowments, or who will vote against something that would benefit you, we will say it is to do away with the Established Church, and to which you are opposed, surely it would be madness on your part to say you would be compelled to be a party to it, and a means of putting in a person and assisting to bring down your Church. It is quite contrary to reason and common sense to suppose it, and we must therefore believe by pledging ourselves to any person, that it is only binding so long as we do not get a person who advocates our views, but it is dissolved when such a person comes forward; but if we pledge ourselves to any one, we cannot give our vote to any other who advocates the same principles as the person to whom we have promised to give our vote. It is a pledge and a promise to be kept in such a case, and would be a violation from the truth if we voted for any other.

If we pledged ourselves to a person, and if a brother or relation were to come forward advocating exactly the same principles, we would consider it strictly honourable to vote for, and appoint him,

but if his principles were at variance with ours, and if the person to whom we had pledged ourselves agreed with our principles; but if his principles were at variance with ours, then we could not change our pledge with honour to vote for the other, the friend. Such cases as these only shew the necessity for our not pledging ourselves to any, until we vote for them at the election. At the election many votes are lost by this pledging, which might be got if they thought otherwise. It is necessary, for the good of all, that we ought to adhere to our promises and word, and not change about at every fancy, as by doing so there will be no steadiness, or dependence, or trust placed on any one, and all business and transactions of every kind will be delayed and deranged; but in this case it is in the nature of it to allow of our changing, as we cannot give an opinion on this or any other subject until we see the whole of it, and not a part of it only; and we do not see the whole, and the last, and perhaps the best, or worst part, until we know that all have come forward as candidates who are to come forward, and therefore we cannot pledge ourselves to any, until we have seen all at least. Our pledge is not binding if all have not come forward; and if we know the principles of all exactly, if we pledge ourselves to one, then in such a case it is binding, and we cannot turn from him and vote for another.

Voters are often attracted and caught by candidates who have a Multitude de-
flowing, flowery, and popular manner and address, and who are ceived by fair-
showy on a hustings, but are entirely superficial as legislators, weather can-
directors, and movers of what is for the single or general good. didates, and
The number of members who have not these attractive qualities, but vote by ballot.
who are sound judges and legislators, and who give sound opinions,
and who are endowed with much good common sense and sound
judgment, both from age, learning, and experience, as well as in-
tuitively,—we say there are many such, and who do much good, and
are really necessary, and highly useful, and requisite to the nation,
and ought to be preferred, although they may not be eloquent, and
attractive speakers, and orators, or popular ranters or declaimers.
We would therefore strongly guard voters against being misled, and
deceived by showy candidates, who speak much, but think little,
and know less. In these times, we want and require men of sub-
stantiality of character, and sense, and not fair-weather, and evan-
escent, and shadowy speakers, however flowery and attractive they
may be. Masters ought not to direct the voting of their tenants and
workmen, unless they vote for candidates who are Chartists, and re-
volutionary and would seize on and destroy property; and to pre-
vent workmen giving votes to such members, we consider a principal
reason against vote by ballot; but it is in the power of masters, even
then, to make their workmen vote by the ballot, as they may desire
them. Workmen who are not of Chartist principles, are liable
to be intimidated by their fellow-workmen. When they vote by
ballot, masters may give workmen a marked paper to put into the
box, and may have a person to watch that they put it in; and thus
is vote by ballot destroyed, and its good or bad effects. Vote by
ballot is demoralizing, in the workmen promising to vote as the
master wishes, and deceiving him, and voting another way.

Income-tax
as just and
equal as any.

Many object to an income-tax, and especially merchants, and also professional men, as they consider it an unfair tax, and they wish the tax to be put on property. If we think over the matter calmly, we find that property, as well as professional income, is liable to deterioration from many and various causes, and also having seasons of abundance and scarcity, as well as professional incomes. Property is deteriorated in value on account of many causes, and is improved in value. Rents are sometimes paid, and they are sometimes unpaid; also deductions are made off rents in bad seasons, which, all know, are not unfrequent; and the land, all know, is generally heavily burdened. We consider the income-tax, as it is at present, so far as its being an equal tax on all, as one of the most reasonable and fair taxes that it is possible to impose. What fairer, and more just, than to pay in a year when crops are abundant, and in scarce years to pay according as your crops are good? And what more just, and reasonable for a mercantile man to pay for the expense to the country caused by relieving the poor, so necessary to carry on his works and manufactories, but who have no more than sufficient to keep them?—and why should he not pay for the expense caused by keeping an army, police, &c. to preserve his property, and to have the laws properly administered, and to preserve all? If he is successful in trade one year, he pays, and says he is willing to pay an income-tax in such a year, and here is the justness of the tax. If he is unsuccessful the next year, the tax required is only according to his profit; he only pays as he has succeeded or not in trade; he is not obliged to pay in bad years, whether he is able or not; he pays according as he has prospered. In the same way the professional man with a certain income, if he has been successful, he pays, but only according to his success. If he has not been successful, he pays as he has succeeded; and if he has been wholly without employment, he does not pay at all. We would say that the tax as it is, with regard to those who require to pay, is as it should be. Professional men, as well as others, must save off their profits in good years, to make up for bad years. There is no doubt it is a heavy tax, but it is absolutely necessary, unless you keep on taxes on articles of consumption, and especially on the luxuries of life, which are not necessary, and on those articles which are hurtful, and which are not necessary. But it is a tax which is liable to be continued, because a minister wishes to keep his place as well as a member of Parliament, and to keep up their popularity by taking off the taxes that burden the people; and they, to get this done; and because in Great Britain the greatest number of electors, and non-electors do not pay the income-tax, they do not oppose, but assist a minister in putting on such a tax; and this is the reason why we hear so little opposition generally about putting on an income-tax. We say there are immense numbers, whose incomes amount to L.150, and to L.200, and L.300, and L.400, and L.500, and these professional men, as well as others, and these incomes are as regular as any annuity. Now if these were let off, as it was intended, a very great and immense loss would arise; and they are as able to pay for the support that they and the country require as any other, and even better. In some cases, if their income is small, their taxation is

small ; and if it is not permanent, and unsuccessful, it is in proportion to their success ; and if they have at any time been successful, their savings will then make up for it, at least they ought. It is, however, a burdensome, as well as a dangerous tax, and one which being so convenient, and so easily put on without opposition, it is liable to be too frequently applied to make up the revenue, and to be kept on ; and when once put on, it is as liable to be increased in amount.

Banks commit a very great error in using their influence in canvassing ; that is to say, allowing their agent to canvass, and use their influence as bank-agents with the shopkeepers, and others who may do business at their particular banks, in favour of certain persons trying to be elected as members of Parliament. It is a practice which is highly injurious to the business, and the general interests of the particular bank that does so ; it ought to be laid down as a principle by banks, that they, or their agents ought, on no account, to interfere with politics, unless it is for the particular interests of the banks, and the banking interest, or the public interest of their particular bank. If it is to prevent a measure, or to advocate a measure, for or against the particular interests of banks, or of the bank, then it is necessary, and proper, and politic that they canvass for members ; if it is done on any other, and all occasions, it is likely to be prejudicial to the particular bank doing so, and to be attended with a general loss of business to the banks which use their influence and canvass for members. If banks set up as Tories, Whigs, Radicals, and Chartists, they will get only each of these parties to deal with them, instead of having the whole of them—they cannot keep in favour with all ; there are always banks which will take advantage of this, and will not interfere in politics, and all will go to such banks, and they will leave the political-agent banks, as they may not be of the same politics. There are a great many merchants approaching to Radical principles, as there are those who hold opposite opinions, and they will lose these, or they will lose the others. One bank may wish a party to advocate a side—being in want of credit he does it, but he takes the first opportunity of leaving the bank, and going to another, when perhaps fortune may favour him. You get one to support a member, he expects that you will discount his bills, and give him credit when he requires it ; you are to a certain extent obliged to do it, for the favour he has done by voting for your member against his principles ; he does not forget this force used, and leaves you at the first opportunity, and it is more than likely he causes you to be a loser by crediting him too much, or if you do not credit him for the favour he has done you, he goes to another bank, where he gets a certain credit, but none for any favour he has done, and he does not seek it. The bank may for a time improve its business by supporting a certain member ; but it is sure to lose it afterwards, as it is certain to lose all who do not hold the same principles as that which a bank held at an election, and many doing as the bank wished them to do, but not getting the credit from the bank that they expected for the favour, also leave the bank. It is therefore better for a bank not to interfere in politics ; the bank which does not interfere in politics is sure to get all parties to do business with it, but the bank which interferes loses every

BANKS.

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Injury to
banks from
electioneer-
ing.

party but one, and even loses part of these ; and if it only happens in one place, the report goes to other places, and all say they will be as well at another bank with what credit they have, and cannot be any worse.

If there were two banks equally wealthy, and doing exactly the same business, we certainly would prefer the bank which does not interfere with politics, as the one which was likely to succeed best, and which was likely to be the firmest, and most secure ; we certainly would give a premium on the shares of this, over that of the political banks, although at the time both were equally wealthy and prosperous.

Banking restrictions necessary.

Unless banks are restricted to the exact amount of capital they have, and this capital is so fixed, and secured, and made available when it is all required, or credited to others, and if banks are not prevented from making advances, when they have advanced to the amount of their capital, it causes general overtrading, manufacturing, and speculating, and is one of the greatest causes of ruin, and evil to the country, as well as to banks, and their shareholders, as well as to the independent, and honest manufacturer, who manufactures surely, and safely, and without injuring any one, on his own real, and true capital, without trusting to others, and endangering others by the chances of his business not succeeding ; and it is the only sure and natural basis for all to go on.

When in a country banks are allowed to credit beyond their real, and always available capital, as well as all trades and undertakings of all kinds, it is the cause of banks, as well as these starting up like mushrooms, and ruining all country gentlemen, as well as manufacturers. The manufacturer, or other, when he is credited, and does not depend on himself, or when he has nothing to lose, does not know when to stop, and he manufactures to excess, and is expensive and extravagant in all his operations, and every thing is carried on without forethought and foresight (from their getting credit, more start than are required) ; and all manufacturing to excess, there is a depreciation in the price of goods from there being a glut in the market, and every one trying to undersell the other ; and there being no use for the goods, and as the patterns become old, also a very great cause of the depreciation in the price of goods, and the goods must be sold cheap, and at a great loss, to realize something, and to get them sold, and all are ruined. All kinds of work, useful as well as useless, are started, whether they are likely to succeed or not ; all is done by chance, and because it is at the risk of others, and not of themselves, and there is nothing but ruin ; and the banks themselves trade to increase their profits, and over-trade and ruin themselves. It is generally done by some of the partners for themselves or the bank, and advances are made to a partner which ruin the bank, or the bank lends, or gives money to others to traffic for them, and use the bank credit, be it good or bad, for this purpose, and ruin the bank, and the shareholders and those who are carrying on business successfully for themselves, by being credited by the bank, are stopt and ruined by its fall. The issue of credit by banks beyond their capital, by being done on chance, and without any foundation, like all other things, is highly ruinous to the banks themselves, and to the country, and its manufacturing interests, and

causes nothing but ruin and destruction, and loss of credit and commerce to the nation; while we are ruined or at a stand-still, other nations take our business, and by the ruined and the credited selling goods below their value, they cause ruin to the honest, and independent, and sound capitalist, and manufacturer, and trader, who cannot compete with them.

Partners are very liable to over-trade and ruin a bank. It is only natural to suppose that credit in the case of banks, as in every and in all, and in our daily transactions, be they small or be they large, must cease when we are not able to pay any more, and no one will credit or trust any one who has no money, or property, or the sure chance of having it beyond that which he really, and truly possesses. No one will lend or trust us after our capital is expended, and this is the case in all transactions, from a farthing to a million of pounds; and it must be the same in the business of banks, and more particularly when it is not done, it is the cause of general ruin. Look at all the facts and causes of any single bank failing, or becoming bankrupt, and you will see the cause and the evil results of it in the case of many.

Joint-stock banks, whatever good they may have done, have in many cases been a cause of much harm to the country generally, and to the particular district in which one or more of these has been situated,—they have been the cause of improper, rash, and ill-judged speculations, having been got up without the speculators or originators of these speculations having the means of carrying them on, although they might have the talent, and business habits to improve and make them take effect; they have been the cause of speculations being suddenly and prematurely got up, on account of the ease, and readiness with which they have advanced capital, and credit to the speculators in these; and they have also been a cause of the harm done to the country, from greedily becoming shareholders and proprietors in such speculation; and have thus ruined their banks, as well as done great injury to the country, from encouraging ill-judged, and ill-timed speculations. The joint-stock bank companies, and the needy speculators, have raised much outcry, and thrown the blame of the country's distresses on the Bank of England's want of liberality in making advances to all, and sundries who may wish and require it, whether they have property, credit, or influence, or although they have any of these, without considering that they may be forming, and be connected with speculations prosperous or not. No mercantile man who depends on, and trades with his own capital, will doubt but that the Bank of England acts wisely, and according to all the laws of human nature; and as commerce has been, and at present is, and by those means without which traffic and the world could not go on, merely on not making advances, or giving credit to any but those who are able, and can satisfactorily shew that they are able, to return back what they have received, and also to preserve her own safety, she suits the costs of her advances in accordance with the state of commerce here and abroad; she would most likely share the same fate as the joint-stock banks, and merchants, who so easily and readily make advances, and give credit for the chance of gaining, but with the certain risk of being ruined, if she did not. We have little hesita-

Bank of Eng-
land, Joint-
stock Banks,
a National
Bank, and
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Bank of Eng-
land's libera-
lity in making
advances.

The benefits
of the Bank
of England.

Evils of Joint-
stock Banks.

tion in saying that the bank of England has it in its power greatly to improve itself, as well as to prevent the rushing up of mushroom joint-stock banks, and the evils which they entail on the country. Joint-stock banks are generally got up where there is not a bank of some stability, or in cases very frequently where such banks have not been very liberal in making advances to enterprising, and speculating persons, or they may have been got up where banks are not of a very secure kind. Now these joint-stock banks go on very well for a time, as long as any of their capital remains, and after this comes the evil. They then carry on business on the credit of their former capital, and no one is aware but themselves that it is expended; and perhaps having carried on business for a long time previously with great credit in the eyes of the public, they are, as it were, by this time considered as the surest, and most prosperous banks that exist; and the public by this time have given up watching, and canvassing their actions, and have given them their unlimited confidence, and all go to their banks when they should be stopping away, and the public is ruined; but such banks encourage to a great extent those who have wealth, and trust them, and make advances to these in their speculations, when their the speculators' prosperity is gone, on the faith and belief that they still have it; but these banks getting careless in their present prosperity, and wishing to increase their business and profits, and also to take banking business from other banks, diminish the cost of their advances, expecting by doing a great deal of business to realize great profits, and they make advances to those who are speculating; but who have no property or credit, in the expectation that these speculations will be successful, and in many cases they are promised much of the profit that may arise from them, if they make the advances, and give the credit that is necessary to carry them on, and at length they get them into their own hands, sometimes from the speculators not being able to carry them on, throwing them into their hands, at other times, when they fancy the speculations are likely to be successful, by a little force and management, and from want of money on the part of the speculator, they get the concern into their own hands, although it is still nominally carried on by the former proprietor. By these and various other means are the banks brought down, and cause great injury to the monied capitalist and to the country.

False appear-
ances of the
Joint-stock
Banks.

Hastily got up joint-stock banks do injury from encouraging, and making advances to those who wish it, and to unprofitable speculations, at a low rate of interest (and give a high interest for money) without security; and when these are unsuccessful, or stop in their career, they throw multitudes out of employment, as well as cause the ruin of bankers and merchants who credited them, and also of individuals attracted to deposit money in their banks for a high interest given to get money, as well as to attract customers to their bank. Many seeing these banks at first seemingly doing well, start others themselves, or they may be started by a number of speculators not getting credit from the bank of the place, in such quantities as they wish, all which causes and purposes are highly injurious to regular commerce, and the prosperity of the country; but may be prevented to a certain, and great extent, by the Bank of England having

more of its branches spread throughout the country, as merchants and others will rather do business with a secure bank, than an insecure one, and joint-stock banks will not be so ready to spring up, when there is a firm, and safe bank in the neighbourhood. But it will also prevent speculation, by preventing money being got too easily, and without almost any security; and people will see, from the Bank of England being in the place, the real state of the money market, and will be suspicious of going where they get money too cheaply and easily, and the having the Bank of England looking over them as it were, will prevent joint-stock banks, to a certain extent, from exposing themselves to discredit, by offering money at a rate greatly below the Bank of England, and the real state of the market. On the whole, the country, and the Bank of England itself, will be benefited by such an extension, as may be seen in the case of the most secure banks in Scotland, where it is done with safety and profit; and the Bank of England would get the principal share of the steady, and regular banking business of the place, and its share of the speculative and fluctuating, which for present advantage is apt to be attended with future loss and disadvantage.

There have been frequent reports, and a seeming desire by parties, A National whether from selfish or interested motives, or for what purpose we Bank do not exactly know, to connect the Bank of England with the government of the country, and to place it under their control. Will such a measure be conducive to the general interest of the country an injurious and commerce, and the stability of the bank itself? and will it be for and hurtful the benefit of the joint-stock banks? Will the management of the measure. bank be carried on without risk, and impartially under the management of government? We strongly suspect, and have no doubt, that the patronage, which the having the bank will give to the government, will cause the best, and most important interests of the bank, commerce, and the country to be blasted, by the government endeavouring to use its influence, and patronage for party purposes. We may mention one of these, and that is the assisting, and giving support to joint-stock, and other banks, who may require assistance in time of trouble and commercial depression, or from over-speculating, and this assistance is given by the various governments, because some of their members or members of Parliament, agreeing Evils. with them in politics, or who are necessary from the support they require from them, are directors or large shareholders in these banks, and because they would otherwise be ruined, if they did not get the accommodation required; and being members of the government, or connected with the government for the time, the government very easily, and very readily hearken to them; and are obliged to do so, as they may otherwise lose power from a want of their support; and rather than do this, they grant them the desired favour, without making a very strict enquiry into the causes of their depression, and the possibility of their after-success. And the government will also use it for electioneering purposes, and must, for the favour, give and make advances to those who have little or no pecuniary credit, but may have political. By such means will the Bank of England decline, and lose its importance in the commercial world, and by its heedless and thoughtless example, cause universal

and general ruin. The Bank of England is more likely to keep up its credit by being managed, and stimulated by mercantile gain, and private interest, than by the interest of an interested, and short-lived government, and one wishing to make the best of its time while in power, and to keep its place, and to suppress the clamours of the multitude, and to keep up their popularity. If the government were to start a national bank, without being stimulated by gain, or not, it would not be able to compete with the Bank of England, as it would be allowed no particular monopoly; but we think the government have got more to manage than they are really able to undertake without becoming bankers.

Directors.

It has been said the directors ought not to be in trade, but we think, although lately one or two of them have become bankrupt, that a person in trade knows, and takes an interest in the real state of the market, more than one out of trade—they might have both kinds. Government should interfere no farther than to see that directors do not misuse their trust. Shareholders may prevent injury by selfish and interested directors, by no measure connected with the bank being made into a law, unless with the consent of a new election of directors. The Bank of England cannot always have been, and is not at present conducted on wrong principles, as she has stood with firmness and vigour under all the changes and blasts which have happened to trade, the country, and the joint-stock banks, both here and abroad, and also to the United States National Bank.

Stability of
the Bank.

Bullion.

There has always been great fear in the banking and commercial world from the diminution of bullion in the banks, from its being drained to pay for foreign importations, and a dread of a run on the banks from those at home; but the fear of such a drain taking place from those at home, at the time when such a drain was going on from abroad, might very easily be remedied and prevented, by causing the holders of paper money in Britain, unless they could shew that they required to pay gold to foreigners, to be satisfied with paper money so long as the notes in circulation by the bank, or a particular bank which issued this paper, had available, and valid securities to the amount of its notes in circulation, and that these securities, whatever they were, should be valued at the marketable price at or near the time; if they were of a fluctuating nature, their minimum average price should be taken as their value, but if they were much below this, then their present marketable price should be taken as their value. This compulsory paper circulation should continue until there was a diminution of the drain on the bullion, or until there was a sufficiency of it; and that the government, where such a stoppage of the bullion circulation took place, ought to have proper and fit persons, and proof, to see that no more paper money was in circulation than the bank had sufficient, available, and valid securities to pay it with, and that its paper money ought to bear the same value as the price of gold at the time. Now no one could reasonably complain, or have any right to complain of such conditions, if they got at the present moment the same amount of food for a paper sovereign as for a gold sovereign, and if at the same time they knew, and were assured by the law and the government, that their paper sovereign would bring an equal sum

Paper money,
its safety
without risk.

as a gold sovereign, from the funds or available or permanent capital or security of the country or of a bank. (As gold is high or low, so is paper valued.)

We think the public, rich and poor, in this case, have tried, we think, and we are positive, have attempted to rob, and appropriate to themselves the property of one of the most useful, one of the most meritorious, and one of the most deserving, and one of the most hard-working classes in the empire, and a class which works harder than the hardest wrought of the working, and labouring classes in the empire; we allude to authors. What right have the public to any work belonging to an author, either now or three thousand years hence, unless they pay the full value for it? What right have they to get, and possess, and print the author's book after his son's death, or his great-great-grandson's death, or after the twenty-thousandth edition? After that, we cannot see any right they have to rob, or defraud the family at this time of property belonging to their ancestors some thousand years back, and which has just descended to them from these ancestors, and which is just now becoming available and of value, and which their ancestors wrought for, and toiled, and studied, and perhaps spent thousands of pounds to acquire, and which, perhaps, was the cause of his death, and was perhaps the cause of his family being beggars; and it is only now that his descendants get the benefit of it, and it is only now that the property (it is property, the same as money, lands, houses, or furniture, or a library of two volumes, or of the eighth-part of a volume, even a song or ballad) is now becoming valuable, we cannot see the shadow of reason how the public have any right to it, any more than they have to any other property, however small or great it may be, be it money or land, which would do the country and the public an immense deal of good if they had it. If they like to bequeath it for the public good, and benefit, but otherwise, the public have no right to it; the public wish for works at the time when many books are only beginning to sell, and to be appreciated.

Three men, equally talented and learned, cast lots which of three occupations they will take, but each must take a different one. They will make the same sum of money in the same time by each of the three occupations, but that of book-making is the most laborious, and each wishes to avoid this, and they cast lots, and each follows his occupation. One has money in the stocks, another has property, and another has a book, and the yearly interest that each has is the same. Now, what right have the public to the author's fortune? They have a better right to the others, as they to a certain extent make their money off the public, and each are benefited—the public as well as they; but the author does not make his book at the expense, or at his and their mutual benefit, and the author wrought hardest for his income, and he has given thousands knowledge, information, and amusement, and he has turned many from evil, and he has been the cause of health, pleasure, and happiness to many, and his book continues to do the same thing, year after year, to new and young readers. It is his property, and he has a better right to it than the two others. Theirs descend to their great-great-grandsons, but the public says his property is theirs, because it did

LAW OF COPY-
RIGHT.

Shewing the
right the pub-
lic have to
books over
other pro-
perty.

and does so much good to them. It perhaps does not pay the interest of the money he laid out on it. It is rather a hard and unjust case. The public are too fond of appropriating what they have no right to, and what does not belong to them, and for which they do not think of paying any thing for. When it is the public and the powerful that rob, it goes by the name of right and honesty, and for the public good, it is said to be ; and when it is done by private and poor individuals, it is called dishonesty and robbery. Such an appropriation is apt to prevent pains and trouble being taken with works, and the prevention of inaccuracies ; and works would be otherwise far superior, and it prevents some ever seeing the light, as they would suppose by the time it would pay, the public would kindly appropriate it for the benefit of the rising generation, or the present generation, and such appropriating laws are highly injurious and unfair, and a hinderance to all improvement, and the acquisition of property.

ENTAIL.

—
Law of entail;
the public
have no right
to interfere.

The law of entail, which they at present wish to change or modify, bears a strong resemblance to the above in almost every respect. All laws which try to regulate, or appropriate property which any one has made or acquired, and which laws are contrary to his wish, are highly injurious and hurtful, and are contrary to all reason and right, as long as they do not interfere with the rights of others or the public. The law of entail has been said to be hurtful to all kinds of improvement of the property entailed ; but the public have nothing to do with this, if it does not encroach on them, or take away from them, or prevent them getting their own rights. A man who makes money or property by long years of fatigue, hardship, and toil, and at the expense of his health, the public have really no right what he does with this money. He may throw it into the sea, if he pleases ; or, what is the same, in some unprofitable speculation, and he may buy property of all kinds, and burn it or destroy it, in thousands of various ways. What right have the public with all this, if he does not injure, or interfere, or encroach on them ? In the same way he may bequeath it as he pleases, and he may fix what conditions he pleases on those who take it, and their successors. They may be wise or foolish conditions, but he has a right to affix these conditions ; and if they will not, or cannot agree to them, they must hand it to those who will and who can (we will except impossible conditions, and where there are no exceptions affixed or other conditions, in such a case they will descend in all other ways as directed, except in the case of impossibilities). Any one may fancy what they would require any one to do, however absurd ; but if we bequeath our property on these conditions, and these only, no law in the land has any right to make it the contrary (a condition, for example, might be to stand up to the neck in cold water, in a certain pond named, for half an hour, in the depth of winter, on a certain day and hour, and this every year ; and when they did not do it, whether they were ill or not, the property would pass to the next heir or person fixed on. The Legislature has no right or business to excuse the sick person from these conditions—it would be a gross injury to the next heir. The conditions were thought of and stated at the time the deed was made, and the bequeather and maker of the property has a right to do with it what he pleases ; and if he had known, or believed, or thought the public would have altered

the conditions, it is probable that the persons would never have enjoyed the property, and the public the opportunity of interfering with that with which they have no right, as it would have been granted or bequeathed to some one else, or in some other manner; and when such is the case, all legislation or alteration by the Legislature is quite an interference, and contrary to right, and impossible to be acted on, as it prevents much good being done; and many who would save money, and do good with it, will not, and may squander it away, and no heirs either of entail or others get it, or the nation be benefited by it, or the public.

The entailing, or fixing conditions to preserve property, is a very good, judicious, and natural remedy for many evils. It may have some defects, but they are not injurious to the public, and the defects are counterbalanced by the good done; and property, if not allowed to be bequeathed in this way, might never be bequeathed at all. The cause and use of entails is to prevent the destruction or waste of property. Benefits of entail. It is meant to be a perpetual, and continual provision to a family, and it is done to prevent property being squandered away, or to be spent, or sold for debt, or by the dissipations of the present occupier; and it is to prevent some from getting into debt, by preventing others from lending them money, and from preventing the non-improvement of property, by burdening it with debt for any longer period of time than the present occupier's life-time.

Now, it is hard if a person makes money, if he cannot bequeath it to his family, and benefit the children of, say his son, who is dissipated and a profligate, and is burdened with debt, and he wishes to give him the chance of becoming reformed, and with the constant means of living respectably; but he could not do this if he gave him the free use and right to the property, as his debts are greater than the value of it. (We may also suppose it is an uncle, or a distant relation, or some friend of his father, who has bequeathed or given this money), and it would thus be lost to himself and his posterity by doing away with an entail, or other conditions of preserving property, whatever name it may go under. Some may say, but it is right to pay his debts. A friend, but not a relation, who has bequeathed it may say, that he has wrought hard for it, and it is not likely that he did it to pay another's debts; and he would, by their doing away with and altering the law of entail, and the power of bequeathing property or money, as a person pleases, he would not leave it to the person at all, and what better would his creditors be of the law? They would be the worse of it, as they would lose the rents or interest of it, and there would be no use of making wills, or bequeathing property, with regard to its safety or preservation after death. Injury of interfering with entails.

It is a judicious way to keep your descendants always comfortable, and to preserve your property which you have made from being thrown away, and squandered, and no one has any more right after your death with it, than they had during your life-time; your regulation after death is as binding as during your life-time, and the legislature has no right, or power to alter or change in any way the conditions of it, whatever these may be. A person gets the rent of the property during his life-time, and no conditions are affixed as to how they are to be spent. His creditors can seize the rents during his life-time; and if there are conditions, the creditors must follow these Entails prudent and judicious.

conditions. It has been said it prevents improvements, as the heirs or successors, if only male, they, if they have no sons, will not spend much money on the property, but will save all they can. All bequeathers, or makers of entail, know this, but no one has a right to it, as each is bound to take it on the conditions of keeping the property in repair, and the next heir can enforce it; and if they will not take it on these conditions, they must let the property alone.

To keep entailed property always in repair, and to burden all heirs equally.

Now a way to get a property fully repaired, and kept in good, and constant repair, would be to oblige all occupiers to lay aside so much yearly off the rents for repairs and improvements, and so much to build a mansion-house and offices, and farm-house and offices, taking off the rent a per centage yearly, when a new mansion-house, or farm-house is built, as will, with interest at four per cent, accumulate and be sufficient when the houses are done to build a new house, or houses, that are constantly required on such properties; and according to the value of the property, will the houses be more or less expensive, and as they are generally built on such kinds of property; and if the present proprietor, or next successor, wishes better or more expensive buildings, he can pay any thing additional; and if a maker of entail were to make this a condition, it would be kept, and all occupiers would pay alike, and it would be burdensome to no particular successor, and your property would be well improved. Of course you begin accumulating when the new house is built, and stop when it is worn out, and you have very nearly the exact sum; and you can make it also a certain condition to lay out a certain sum yearly in repairs and improvements, and this sum will be according to the value of the property, and the repairs and improvements that are generally required on such properties. All heirs of entail to agree to a law affixing such conditions as an accumulating fund; and if all agree, it might be made into a law by the legislature. None could object to it, and it would be better for the next heirs, and the present occupiers might perhaps object, as they generally would have only to pay for tear and wear.

TEA.

Tea and tea-duties.

To prepare tea.

Injurious effects of badly prepared tea.

Tea is an article which was a luxury at one time, but it is now considered to be necessary as an article of diet for millions of the people, in fact for the whole nation, as any other article of diet that is used. It is a beverage which is highly relished by all, and does not require time to acquire a taste for it, for it is generally relished on its first being taken; but this arises, to a certain extent, from the sugar with which it is made up; but if it were not for this, it might require time for to make it agreeable to the taste. It is a beverage which, when it is not too long allowed to remain in the water, when there is no more of its taste extracted than the flavouring principle, and which is various in different teas, it is nourishing, and, to a certain extent, mildly laxative; but when it is allowed to stand long in the water, or to be boiled, instead of its having an agreeable flavour, it has a strong and bitter taste, which is caused by a bitter extract which it contains being drawn out or extracted from it. Some do not fancy they get the real taste of the tea until the bitter principle has been extracted, and which gives tea a strong bitter taste, but this extract is injurious and hurtful, and is of a constipating nature, while the flavouring principle is of a laxative nature. The bitter principle is also apt to cause

headaches when tea is taken in large quantities, and allowed to stand masking too long. Tea ought, therefore, to mask no longer than just to get the flavouring principle, or the flavour of the tea.

Tea is a beverage which is relished by all, and is one which allays thirst, and is a very useful assistant to a light repast at any time of the day. It is one which is a useful substitute for beer, and it is also useful in the place of milk. It is of great use, as it can at any time be so easily and quickly prepared, and is of great use where expedition is required; and there is also very little trouble in its preparation, and it does not require to be kept, as, if you have water ready, it is soon prepared, and it does not therefore spoil by keeping it standing when a person is long of coming or behind his time.

It is a great incentive to many rich as well as poor to come home when they might not otherwise do it. It is an agreeable, grateful, and warm diet to the poor after a long day's work. It is so refreshing instead of only getting something dry, and a drink of water, and what is apt to cause them to take something stronger, that is beer. It is useful and heating when the workman comes home cold; it is useful in bringing the workman to his house when he might otherwise go to the public-house; but as he knows that there is a comfortable, and warm repast for him at home, and where there is tea there is generally a good and cheerful fire, and he is thus attracted to his own home, instead of going to the tavern to get spirits, to heat, warm, refresh, nourish, and to allay his thirst. It is an agreeable change to those in Scotland who take oatmeal porridge in the morning, and would otherwise take it in the evening, and instead of bread and butter, and water or milk. But this is a light, warm, agreeable, and refreshing and healthy beverage. Benefits of tea,

There can be no doubt it is a diet which has a good moral effect on workmen, as it is a great means of keeping them out of taverns, or, what is worse, drinking at home. There are millions in Great Britain who would take tea thrice a-day, who do not take it once, because it is too dear. There are many who would take it thrice, but only take it once, because it is too dear. There are many who would take it thrice, but only take it twice, because it is too dear. There are many families where the wife only takes tea at night, and the others do not, because it is too dear. There are many families where the wife takes tea in the morning, and the husband and she in the evening, and the rest of the family do not get it, because tea is too dear. There are many families where the older children only get tea in the evening, and the younger do not, because tea is too dear. Now if tea were cheaper, many families would take tea morning and evening. If tea were not too dear, all the children would take tea in the evening. If tea were cheaper it would give more employment to the makers of tea-dishes; it would cause a great increase in that branch of manufacture in all its branches. It would also cause a great increase in the manufacture of tea-spoons. It would also cause an increase of trade and employment of tea-kettles, and iron-works would be greatly benefited by cheap tea. By having cheap tea the social temperance parties would be greatly increased, and it would be a means of Moral effect of tea-drinking.
Those who do not, who would use tea if it were cheaper.

causing amusement, sociality, and information amongst a very large body of people. It would cause more drinking tea-parties amongst the working-classes, and there would be a great increase in the consumption of tea, and less drinking of intoxicating liquors in private houses.

Chances of an increased consumption of tea.

There would be frequent social meetings and entertainments during the winter, but owing to the expenses they are not frequent; but they would have them frequently, and where there would be nothing else but a cup of warm refreshing tea, without anything else; and during the summer months they would have out-of-door social and entertaining meetings, where they could have a cool refreshing cup of tea. There ought to be concerts, where they might have tea; lectures, where tea might be passed; and they might have tea on many other occasions where its expense prohibits its being used; and from these and many other ways would the consumption of tea be greatly increased, if it were cheap enough.

If tea were cheap enough, those who at present use it would use at each diet twice, or thrice the quantity of tea they at present use. Most people at present do not use more, than what is barely sufficient to give them the taste of tea. Now if these got it cheaper, we have little doubt that they would use it in larger quantities, and all their family would use it in the evening. There is little doubt that those who use it at present, would use more of it than they at present do, and that in all families where a part only use it in the evening, all would use it; and there is no doubt that there are many who do not use it now, who would use it if it were cheaper. There is little doubt that owing to the scarcity of provisions of all kinds, tea and sugar being no dearer, that there has been a greater consumption of tea amongst the poorer classes this last year, and it may have arisen from the sugar being cheaper than it used to be, which also makes tea cheaper. The increased consumption of tea will give rise to an increased consumption of sugar, and this will give rise to an increase of duty on that article, which will benefit all. And there will be an increase of shipping for tea, by an increase of its consumption, as well as of sugar. If freights were to keep low, tea might be cheaper, but as they are apt to rise, so is the price of tea (a substitute for tea might be got by getting its essential principle—this would save carriage; no doubt, there would be imitations; if they had it, it might come overland by India, by rail); and by this rise the consumption of tea may be diminished. By an increase in the consumption of tea, the Chinese might take an increased quantity of goods of our manufacture; and this is a very valuable market for our produce, if we could get them to adopt British goods and wares; but we suspect they are not much inclined to do this.

Growth of tea in India.

Instead of sending to China for tea, we ought to try to cultivate it in our own territories in India, where good tea is said to be grown. We could grow it very cheap there, as labour and land is cheap; and we would also save the expense of freight to China, and we would get it cheaper, and receive the whole benefit to ourselves; and we might even supply other countries cheaper than China can do, even although the freight were as high. The duty ought to be kept on teas, which at present cost 5s. a pound and upwards, as they are sold in Great Britain. They are a very large and wealthy class,

Duty on teas used by the rich.

and are those who are not likely to give up the use of tea, and they are those who can well afford to buy tea, and who would not give up its use although it were higher in price, and we do not suppose that they would increase the consumption of it, if it were reduced in duty; they are a very large, and a very wealthy class, and can bear to be more heavily taxed than the operatives. The original cost price of some of their tea is as high as 4s. 6d. a pound; it is surely not in reason to say that a duty of 2s. 2½d. a pound is put on that, and a duty of 2s. 2½d. a pound is put on tea—the original price of which is only 2d. a pound. There is surely something like unfairness and injustice in this case, to make a poor man with a large family pay for an article of diet, and one which is useful for his general comfort, and is a great means for his moral improvement; it is not consonant with reason that he should be taxed so heavily. It is, no doubt, right that he should pay something to support the country, and for his own protection, but as it is an article of food, and as it may be said to be necessary for him, as well as for the good of the nation, that he should get it; we think that on all teas (we ought to take off a certain duty) which are at present sold under 5s. a pound in Great Britain, duty and freight being included; now this will be teas whose original price is from 2s. to 2s. 3d. a pound, and these ought to be charged the present duty of 2s. 2½d. a pound, and this duty might be taken off afterwards, if it was afterwards found likely that the revenue would not suffer by it; but it is necessary to give the poor the chance of getting cheap tea, and as the tea used by about twelve millions costs originally from 8d. to 2s. a pound, a duty of 1s. a pound ought to be put on all teas under 2s. or 2s. 3d. a pound originally; and by doing this, those who really required to be benefited, would be so; and it is likely there would be a great increase in the consumption of sugar, if freight, &c. were cheaper; and this would cause cheaper tea, and there would be a great increase in the consumption of sugar. Many of these 12 millions may be said to be those who can take tea, as tea can at present be made; and they may have large families, many of them; and it is likely they, at any rate, will increase their consumption of it, if it is cheaper, and will use it for themselves in larger quantities, and stronger; but there must still be immense numbers who will use it regularly, and who do not use it at present. If the duty is taken off, and other circumstances render it much cheaper, there will be a very great increase in its use; and by means of temperance, and this may be seen in the increased consumption of tea amongst the working-classes of Ireland, since the first temperance movement there.

We are not going to say positively that the revenue is likely to be made up; but by keeping the present duty on all teas whose original price is above 2s. or 2s. 3d., you do not run the risk of losing all the duty, if there should not be an increase in the number of consumers, as those who use it at 2s. or 2s. 3d. a lb. original price, and upwards, are a large and wealthy class, and are not likely to consume more, or use less tea, by the duty being kept on, or diminished on the teas they use, but by taking off a certain portion of the duty off the lower priced teas, we are doing a benefit to the consumers of these teas, which is necessary, as they are really not able to buy high-priced teas, and who are likely to consume more tea, if they poor.

Amount of
duty to be
taken off.

Increase of
revenue.

Benefit to the
poor.

Growth of tea
in India.

get it cheap enough, that is, they will take it oftener, and use more of it at a time, and more of their family will use it, and they will use more of it in this way. Now, it is necessary that these should get a reduction of duty to bring them on a level with the rich, as there is great injustice in taxing the poor, 12 or even six times the value of the article they consume; and it is a great injustice to tax the rich only the same sum on the same kind of article, which is twice the price, and more of the tax that is put on it, that is, the rich are only taxed 50 per cent., while the poor are taxed 1200 per cent.; there is great injustice in this. Now, there is a very large class or number who do not take tea on account of its expense. We have yet this large class to get to consume tea, and they are poor; and it must be reduced in price by having a less duty, and by getting sugar cheaper, and by getting freights cheaper, and by getting and growing tea of our own; (and it is the duty of our government to give it a fair trial, and set an example, or stimulate, or give a premium to those who grow the largest and best quantity of tea in India.) Now, this is a very large class, and they are a class who require to get it for the purpose of improving them morally, and altering their habits, and they are a class who require to get it as an article of diet, and of comfort, and as a means of keeping them from starvation, and as a means of making them orderly, and rendering them saving, and preventing them from drinking; and when there is a scarcity, by being orderly and saving, preventing them from being a burden on the nation; and we must, and ought to grant it to these whether the duty is paid up or not; but if we keep the duty on all teas at, and above 2s. or 2s. 3d. a pound, the original price of it, there is little or no fears of the revenue suffering any loss, but there is every chance of its being increased, and if it were, we do not see the necessity of taking the duty off the higher priced teas, as it is a duty which is diffused equally; and it is on a wealthy class, and who ought, and are able to pay for the support of the nation, and their being enabled to make, and preserve, in safety and security their lives, money, and property; and if they are not, it is only for those who are able to drink high-priced, and we may say, luxurious teas, and it is not a duty which is much felt by these; and being so, and when there is no chance of their using more tea than they at present do, nor even less, whether the duty remains as it is, or is taken off, and, therefore, no benefit but loss is likely to arise from the duty being reduced on these high teas, and it is a very proper duty. It may be said to be a luxury in their case, and it is not necessary for them; and when it is also known that the revenue to provide for the debts, and protection of the nation is small enough, it may be considered a very fair, and reasonable duty, and it would be a great error to give it up. They might say we will only buy cheap tea in that case; the revenue will be no less than if the duty were the same on high as low teas.

The Channel
Islands and
Australia, no
proof of an in-
creased con-
sumption.

It has been said, that in the Channel Islands, and in Australia, where there is no duty on tea, that the consumption of tea is greatly increased. In Australia, the people can afford to buy tea, whether there was a high duty on it or not, as they are not poor; and it is from their being generally able that they consume so much, and not on account of the duty; and it is from freights being cheap, as well

as sugar ; and all these circumstances make tea very cheap, and the nature of their climate, and habits, and occupations are also causes of their consuming a large quantity, and they generally use it at all hours of the day, and to every meal, and they also use it in extravagantly large quantities ; perhaps they put in their hands into a bag, and take out a handful for one person, instead of our elegant, and minute way of putting in two or three small and exact teaspoonfuls for a single person, as with us ; but however elegant and delicate it may appear, it has its origin in tea being too dear. The Australians are generally able to afford it, and the price of tea is down to that price where all can use it, but even one shilling off, unless other circumstances cheapen tea, as cheap sugar, &c., it will not be down to the price to cause its careless and more general use, and the price at which the poor can afford to buy it at. In the Channel Islands they are better able to afford to pay for, and use tea and sugar, and tea being cheap they use it more extravagantly, and oftener, and in larger quantities than we do. In Australia they use vessels to drink it out of seven times the size of our tea-cups, and drink it off at a draught, instead of sipping it as we do. They take it and keep it constantly, and drink to allay thirst, and to improve the bad taste of their water, and from other reasons. But the poor of Great Britain are not likely to use it in this way, although it were as cheap, by all means, as that of Australia, because they are not able, as they have other necessities to buy, and lay out their scanty wages on besides tea. 1s. or even 1s. 6d. off the duty still makes it dear to the poor, who have small wages, and we therefore do not take Australia especially ; and the Channel Islands, as an example of the chance of tea being consumed in larger quantities. Our workmen, even although they got it as cheap as they get it in Australia, yet could not afford, from their small wages, to use it in such quantities as they do in Australia. In Australia they use it as a substitute for soup, for beer, and to quench their thirst at all times, and take less of other things, and their climate requires it, and it is quickly made ; our climate does not require it.

Although there were no duty on tea and sugar, we do not think, in Great Britain, single persons could afford to use the half of the tea a single person in Australia uses, as their wages are too small, but we think it is necessary to give the poor a better means and opportunity of getting a comfortable, refreshing, cheerful, and healthy beverage as an article of diet, and as a great moral means of improvement ; and if it is done in the way we have stated, we think there is little chance of there being much loss to the revenue ; but we are not to take the revenue of the last three years as an example of its increase, we must take it before the sugar-duties were reduced, and before there was a general scarcity throughout the land. Although there has been a scarcity, yet wages have been high, and this is one reason why there is likely to have been an increase, and from there being a want of the usual articles of diet.

It is the poor and working-classes that the cry for the tea-duties being diminished has been raised, and there is, therefore, no necessity for taking it off the wealthy classes. Of course, time must be given before this duty is taken off, to allow all who have stocks of tea to

Little chance of the people of Great Britain using tea in such quantities as the Australians, as their wages are small.

For the benefit of the poor.

dispose of them, and to allow of a larger quantity being got, as, if you lower the duty before you get this, the price of tea will be raised, from the quantity being too small for the demand, and as the rich will give a better, and higher price for it than want it, and it is so necessary to allow all to arrange their affairs, so that none may be losers by it.







